MANUFACTURING *Revolution*

The Intellectual Origins *of* Early American Industry

Lawrence A. Peskin

VISIT…

Manufacturing Revolution

Studies in Early American Economy and Society
from the Library Company of Philadelphia

Cathy Matson, series editor

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To my parents

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Series Editor's Foreword

With this volume we inaugurate the Studies in Early American Economy and Society series, a collaborative effort between the Johns Hopkins University Press and the Library Company of Philadelphia's Program in Early American Economy and Society (PEAES). PEAES aims to advance research on the American economy, from its earliest times through the antebellum era and, by bringing valuable new work to a wide readership, heighten our understanding of economic relationships. Lawrence Peskin makes an important contribution to the discussion that PEAES wishes to engender among scholars of the early American economy.

At the center of the economic changes Peskin explores, one finds the individuals who imagined, argued about, legislated, and sometimes benefited from the post-Revolution generation's potential for manufacturing a range of wants and needs. Americans of many walks of life entered a protracted and shifting debate about how to shape the economy, and in order to understand the technologies, policies, and market systems that emerged during the early national years, we must pay close attention to the various arguments that occurred in interest groups associated with Americans' emergent manufacturing made in these years. By reconstructing this widespread public discussion about the nation's economic future, Peskin qualifies many of our assumptions about what Americans wanted, and what they were capable of doing in these formative years. Peskin finds early and deep aspirations for American national economic independence—an impulse rooted in natural bounty and fueled by widespread expectations that the Revolution would create the conditions for enormous productivity. Words made a difference, whether in promoting homespun in the late colonial years, protecting infant craft manufacturing in the post-Revolution years, or shaping legal and financial institutions that promoted factory development. The published arguments of manufacturers created among themselves a consensus favoring new enterprise, and in the face of reticent opponents, forced those manufacturers to sharpen their sense of purpose and progress. In this respect, Peskin

joins a growing number of scholars who have been striving to recover the beliefs and achievements of the first post-Revolution generation and who share the view that in this era's sometimes pragmatic, sometimes visionary discussion about manufacturing, there were no necessary or certain outcomes, no clear trajectories toward American industrialization.

Optimism continued in the post-Revolution generation as promoters, developers, and boosters applauded the advent of internal development and threw themselves into manufacturing efforts. But in reality there was no sudden "revolution" in productive relations, no pervasive introduction of myriad new goods and services. The revolution in thought and policy about manufacturing took place long before investors had made much capital investment, new class relations unfolded, and factories dotted the American landscape. Failure frequently tempered the optimism of those stalwarts who pressed for manufacturing.

Cathy Matson,
University of Delaware, and
Director, Program in Early American Economy and Society,
The Library Company of Philadelphia

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Manufacturing Revolution

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Introduction

> By establishing manufactories among us, we erect an additional barrier against the encroachments of tyranny. A people who are entirely dependant upon the foreigners for food or clothes, must always be subject to them.
>
> —BENJAMIN RUSH, 1775

> The establishment, therefore, of a prosperous manufacturing town like Lowell, regarded in itself, and as a specimen of other similar seats of American art and industry, may with propriety be considered as a peculiar triumph of our political independence. They are, if I may so express it, the complement of the revolution.
>
> —EDWARD EVERETT, 1830

Although much has been written about the "industrial revolution," we rarely read about industrial *revolutionaries.* This absence reflects the preoccupation of the two dominant twentieth-century economic paradigms with *forces* rather than humans when explaining economic change. Marx described the teleological march of history from stage to stage and finally to revolution, while Adam Smith glorified the impersonal decisions of the invisible hand. Consequently, both Marxism and classical economics tended to focus on social structures rather than the behavior of individual humans, behavior they largely understood as being determined by economic preconditions. Where these schools violently disagreed was on the nature of the moral-political results of industrial capitalism (whether positive or exploitative) rather than on its origins. Instead of examining broad macroeconomic trends and their results, this book deviates from both paradigms by intensively examining the thoughts and activities of Americans who promoted industrialization. These individuals were active well before Marx was born, and most were either ignorant of or unimpressed by Adam Smith. Unaware of the impersonal economic forces of modern social "science," these promoters hoped and believed that human beings could manufacture a new economy merely by convincing others that change was necessary. It would be foolish to suggest that

they alone manufactured economic revolution, but it would also be foolish to attempt to understand the historical and cultural context of American industrialization without examining what they said and did.

In speeches, petitions, books, newspaper articles, club meetings, and coffeehouse conversations, they fervently discussed the need for large-scale American manufacturing a half-century before the Boston Associates built their first factory. Historians have known about these words for a long time, but in their rush to debate the effects of industrialization, neither Marxists nor liberals showed much interest in them. Those few who lingered on the causes of industrialization usually dismissed the words as mere rhetoric, dwelling instead on the deeds of entrepreneurs or innovators working on what one noted scholar called the "frontiers of change."[1] This frontier analogy, implying hearty pioneering individuals leaving the comfortable confines of an older economy to strive bravely into uncharted markets is, however, not particularly apt. For by the time the entrepreneurs began building factories in significant numbers, the manufacturing promoters had already outlined the contours of the new economy. They did so not as individual risk takers but as groups, societies, and associations that met together to discuss economic change, to disseminate pro-manufacturing literature, to lobby for government support of early manufacturing efforts, and to create small experimental manufacturing projects.

These groups launched a discourse about manufacturing that would continue for decades. In calling for economic independence to complement political independence, the words of manufacturing's promoters intellectually linked the two most important upheavals in the new nation: the American Revolution and industrialization. Although colonial Americans occasionally sought to promote domestic manufacturing, their efforts were scattered and paltry before the crisis of the 1760s. This turmoil inaugurated America's first sustained pro-manufacturing effort, and it was at this juncture that speeches such as the one delivered by Benjamin Rush to a group of Philadelphians promoting a small model project called the American Manufactory began to shape the discourse. For the next half century and beyond, orators such as Edward Everett would continue to draw on the rhetoric of the American Revolution to promote an economic revolution.

The words and activities of the manufacturing promoters helped guide the new nation along the path of economic change. For much of the twentieth century, historians have described this transformation as the industrial revolution. This approach usually employs a certain technological teleology in tracing the

progression from traditional craft production to modern factories. This focus derived partially from a Marxian sensitivity to the impact of modes of production on class relations and partially from the twentieth-century conviction that industrial economies rested at the pinnacle of human economic development. Authors writing from this perspective generally gave very short shrift to the period covered by this book. For example, one of the most authoritative mid-century studies devoted only 12 of more than 350 pages to the years before 1820.[2] If one is concerned primarily with the development of modern factories, such an emphasis appears sensible, for there were virtually none in that early period. But by ignoring the years before 1820, such studies cannot fully examine the roots of economic change.

In the final quarter of the twentieth century, American historians became disillusioned with the industrial revolution model. The most cogent critics questioned whether there was a revolution at all. Rather than experiencing a sudden shift from craft production to the modern factory system, the nineteenth century was characterized by the coexistence of old and new models of production, a juxtaposition that has been described as the "talismanic core" of early American industrialization.[3] Furthermore, in an increasingly postindustrial world, factory production no longer appeared to be the sine qua non of the modern (or postmodern) economy. Thus, historians began writing about the "market revolution" rather than the industrial revolution.[4] In doing so they highlighted a broader congeries of changes than had their predecessors. Industrialization and new forms of production were part of the market revolution, as were new and more efficient forms of transportation and everything else that led to the expansion of market transactions. The key to this revolution, however, was less technology than it was a series of decisions made by individuals yearning to become part of the larger market as consumers and producers.

In moving historians' attention from broad impersonal forces to identifiable personal actions, the market revolution concept did much to humanize economic history. But it also confused the issue by sparking a long and perhaps ultimately unproductive debate about timing. The idea of a market revolution implies a basic progression toward a "modern" economy, which often was described as a "transition to capitalism." Historians strongly disagreed about when this transition occurred. While some located the roots of an Anglo-American consumer revolution as early as the start of the eighteenth century, others argued that much of America remained more or less disconnected from larger markets well into the nineteenth century.[5] This debate illustrates a problem with the focus on mar-

ket activity. The transition to a market economy was far from revolutionary and far from uniform. The earliest English colonists in America desperately depended on world tobacco markets in order to survive, while some early-twentieth-century Appalachian farmers had very little contact with larger markets. Clearly, the growing reach of markets was and is one of the most important developments in human history. But it should be seen as a centuries-long process rather than as a sudden change.

Far more revolutionary, at least in the United States, was the rapid turn away from an economy based on agriculture and overseas trade toward one in which manufacturing (whether factory-based, craft-based, or anything between) was the most dynamic component. This economic revolution occurred in a nation that, prior to independence, had been happily dependent on the mother country and the European continent for most of its manufactured goods. The English industrial revolution was the culmination of two centuries of textile making and other pre-industrial manufacturing "projects."[6] Until the American Revolution such manufacturing projects were largely illegal in the American colonies, and even had they not been, colonists were far more interested in increasing agricultural yield and overseas commerce than in finding new forms of production. After the war Americans turned very quickly to manufacturing, first using traditional craft-based technologies, and later, more cutting-edge factory processes. The usual focus on the period after 1815 neglects these developments.

Like any transformation, the growth of this new economy created winners and losers. It initially appeared as though urban artisans would be the big winners. As the earliest manufacturing promoters, they largely defined the terms of the pro-manufacturing discourse, and their umbrella committees quickly convinced the state legislatures and then the new federal government to institute tariffs to protect their enterprises. However, as new groups of merchant-manufacturers began to redefine the meaning of manufacturing, emphasizing large-scale factory projects, these small producers started to lose out. Their plight has been carefully and sympathetically described by a generation of social historians interested in the issue of proletarianization, or the formation of a working class.[7] Generally, these historians have focused on the period of "industrial revolution" after 1815. This book argues that the period between 1780 and 1815 is absolutely crucial in understanding this decline, for it was then that artisans began to lose their place at the center of the new economy.

There was, however, little apparent class struggle, due in large part to the discourse the manufacturing promoters created. The words they used to describe

the new economy made it appear desirable to nearly everyone. They stressed consensus rather than conflict. They spoke incessantly of "harmony" between manufacturing and the interests of the two major existing economic sectors, agriculture and commerce. When they spoke of the need to encourage and protect manufacturing, they rarely elaborated on specifics, leaving artisans to understand "manufacturing" as craft-based production while others might imagine more modern modes of production. This vagueness allowed the promoters to appeal to a far more diverse group than they might have otherwise and to hold together this group of "friends of manufacturing" even after their interests had ceased to be the same. Thus, even though the pro-manufacturing language of the 1830s sounded much like that of the 1770s, the shifting definition of manufacturing had changed its meaning in subtle yet important ways.

Historians have long debated whether American political-economic discourse was primarily "republican" or "liberal." The manufacturing promoters' words do not entirely support either interpretation. Republicans, with their fear of national corruption, cast a wary eye on economic innovation, fearing that it might lead to the sort of "luxury" and "indolence" that they believed had destroyed once virtuous republics such as Rome and Greece. It was better, according to this philosophy, to develop an economy of largely self-sufficient yeoman farmers who would live in republican simplicity and independence. These fears and concerns, historians argue, flowed from the so-called republican or real Whig ideology of the Revolution, which in turn evolved from seventeenth-century "country party" opposition and, more distantly, from Machiavelli and Renaissance civic humanism.[8] Liberals, on the other hand, celebrated individualism, self-interest, and markets.[9] While republicans were fearful that economic innovations would corrupt civic virtue, liberals, focusing more on individual property rights than civic values, embraced these changes. Ultimately economic liberalism would culminate in Adam Smith's philosophy of laissez-faire and the invisible hand, with its premise that individuals, rather than the community as a whole, were best suited to make economic choices.

Throughout the revolutionary and early national periods the manufacturing promoters voiced both liberal and republican concerns. They often repeated republican fears of luxury and indolence, but they shied away from the republican solution of agrarian self-sufficiency. Although they exhibited plenty of liberal acquisitiveness, they tended to work together in societies or associations to achieve their goals, rather than competing ruthlessly as individuals. Moreover, they valued social harmony over individual self-interest, frequently declaring that the

various national economic interests should work together as a unified system. Unlike classical economic liberals, they called for government to play a central role in bringing about economic change. Taken as a whole their ideology can perhaps be best described as neomercantilistic.[10] Historians have occasionally argued that mercantilism was an important element of early American thought, but they usually made these claims in reference to only a few well-known statesmen, most notably Alexander Hamilton.[11] Others have argued that mercantilism was dying by the early nineteenth century, a victim of "forces . . . which would catapult the new nation into the industrial age."[12]

If this book does nothing else, it will demonstrate that mercantilistic ideas not only survived but flourished in the early national United States. The manufacturing promoters modified mercantilism to make it fit the situation of their new nation. Like all mercantilists they were obsessed with maintaining a positive balance of trade and an adequate national supply of cash in an intensely competitive world of commerce. They diverged from classical mercantilism in significant ways, however. Most importantly, rather than viewing international trade as the inevitable bedrock of the American economy, they entertained the possibility of a more self-sufficient national market. Such an innovation would allow the United States to become a nation of producers able, if necessary, to withdraw from world trade altogether in order to avoid draining specie from the national coffers. In addition, these neomercantilists envisioned a less powerful state than did their European forebears. While they believed the government should have broad influence on the form of the national economy, very few Americans wanted it to control the day-to-day economic choices of individuals through European-style guilds or price and wage regulations.

The chapters that follow trace the manufacturing promoters and their discourse from the late colonial period through the 1820s. They are broken into three sections, reflecting distinctive periods within this larger study. The first section, covering the period from 1763 to the end of the American Revolution, examines the Revolution's impact on the pro-manufacturing movement. The first chapter sets the economic context for the period, describing the "British system" that existed during the late colonial era. The next two chapters address the Revolution itself. Chapter 2 examines the impact of nonimportation and other protest movements of the late 1760s, which did much to mobilize mechanics and publicize domestic manufacturing. Chapter 3 examines the more ambiguous legacy of the war years themselves.

Part two covers 1783–1807, surely a "critical period" for the advancement of American manufacturing. Each chapter in this part chronicles the activities of the three major groups of actors shaping the pro-manufacturing discourse in the new nation: mechanic committees, manufacturing societies, and agricultural societies. These chapters include extensive biographical sections on leading manufacturing promoters such as Mathew Carey, Tench Coxe, and David Humphreys to give insight into how individuals arrived at these positions, but the emphasis is on group activity rather than individual effort. When Tocqueville famously described the intense desire to form associations as a distinctively American trait, he could easily have been observing the manufacturing promoters, and he indeed listed "trade and industry" as one of the spurs to American associations.[13] Despite much publicity, these organizations died out in the decade following 1795, largely because of the commercial boom created by the Napoleonic wars. During these years the traditional sectors of America's economy—agriculture and commerce—prospered as never before, leaving little incentive to develop a new economy based on new modes of production.

By 1807 or so, however, Americans faced the end of this long period of prosperity. The prospect of commercial depression once again prompted dreams of a new economy, and Americans founded a new generation of promotional associations. These groups and the post-1807 efforts to promote manufacturing are the subject of part three. Factory production became an economic reality over the course of the next two decades, and the need to promote manufacturing became a crucial national issue. Much of the promotional rhetoric was ostensibly similar to that of the earlier period, but economic changes subtly transformed its meaning. This transformation is the subject of chapter 7. In this period, as before, pro-manufacturing voluntary associations flourished, but as chapter 8 shows, economic and political developments also transformed these associations, making them more elitist and less open than their predecessors. Chapter 9 moves to national politics, tracing the impressive influence of the pro-manufacturing discourse on the first party system. The final chapter chronicles the crowning achievement of the early manufacturing promoters: the protective tariffs of 1816–28 and the emergence of the Whig "American system." Although the bricks-and-mortar stage of industrialization remained in its infancy, the manufacturing promoters' vision had reached maturity and was well on its way to becoming reality.

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Part I / The Revolutionary Era

The first English people to colonize North America hoped to build manufactories in the new land. The Virginia Company expected to establish iron foundries and glass manufactories along the James River; to the north, the Puritan founders set up a number of ambitious, high-tech iron foundries during the seventeenth century.[1] The colonists soon learned that, with the exceptions of a few New England ironworks, the shortage of skilled labor in the New World made manufacturing extremely difficult there. In addition, by the eighteenth century the king and Parliament were actively discouraging American manufacturing. The economic balance they envisioned, described in chapter 1 as the British system, called for the colonists to produce raw materials while those in the mother country would craft manufactured products. Thus, legislation such as the Wool Act (1699), Hat Act (1732), and Iron Act (1750) was intended to discourage colonial manufacturing.[2]

As a result of the scarcity of labor, and perhaps due to the imperial legislation as well, manufacturing was rarely a significant element of the colonial economy. In general, the colonists appear to have been so satisfied with the profits available from agriculture and the Atlantic trade that they rarely resented the antimanufacturing prohibitions. From time to time, particularly during periods of political tension, groups of colonists attempted to spur manufacturing, but such efforts never lasted long, nor did they amount to much. As late as the 1760s, the colonial governors reported that the colonies supported virtually no manufactures. As agents of the empire responsible for enforcing mercantile regulations they would have been foolish to report otherwise, and in the case of New England, at least, it now appears as though the governors seriously underreported domestic production.[3] Nonetheless, even after factoring in these misrepresentations, manufacturing was hardly a major sector of the economy before the Revolution, nor did most Americans want it to be.

While industrialization was already under way in Europe by the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the situation in the United States was quite different. In Europe the industrial "revolution" actually evolved over a long period

of time as craft guilds slowly gave way to proto-industrialization, which shaded into the factory system. These developments were absent from the colonial economies of North America, where there was relatively little existing manufacturing. In the late colonial and revolutionary eras, the nature of manufacturing in the area that would become the United States hardly differed from what it had been in Europe for centuries before. Some of the larger industries, such as iron founding, sugar distilling, and shipbuilding, employed sizable numbers of specialized workers, but they continued to rely on traditional, preindustrial technologies. Additionally, most American goods were produced within families rather than in manufactories.[4] The spinning bee craze among "republican mothers" during the nonimportation crisis exemplifies this trend; when Revolutionary Americans thought about patriotic means of encouraging manufacturing they naturally thought of women spinners rather than merchant-led proto-industrialization or large factories. Though the small manufacturing sector may have been expanding during the late colonial period, it was not necessarily moving toward a factory system. As chapters 2 and 3 show, the Revolution and the turbulent years directly preceding it did spur some more modern manufactories, but the economic disruptions of warfare also undercut these efforts.

There were some successes in the years of protest and rebellion. During the excitement of nonimportation many Americans considered taking up manufacturing, prompted by a mixture of patriotism and profit-mindedness detailed in chapter 2. In Philadelphia, for example, entrepreneurs began new manufactories of glass, china, hats, japanned ware, books, woolens, and paper between 1769 and 1772. These new enterprises all made finished goods that competed directly with English imports. New manufacturing projects also sprouted up in Boston and New York City. The economic disruptions of the war years made it much more difficult to begin new enterprises, but even then, Philadelphians undertook several new textile manufactories, and New Yorkers planned large glass and drum manufactories as well as a steel forge before they were forced to evacuate their city in 1776. Home manufacturing also prospered and increased during the war. Perhaps even more importantly, the political empowerment experienced by urban mechanics during this period would give them a new voice during the postwar years, when they would become tireless promoters of manufacturing.

One might wonder what the causal connection was between this general expansion of manufactures and the proliferation of pro-manufacturing rhetoric. The task of this book is to examine economic thought to understand how ordinary Americans were thinking at the time, but the issue of causation also deserves

some consideration. There is no *necessary* causal connection between economic rhetoric and reality. One could take a strictly market-oriented approach and argue that promotional activity was of minimal importance compared to profit motivations. This approach is one that would have been foreign to virtually all Americans during this period. They believed that promotional activity was crucially important. But was it really?

There is solid evidence to suggest that promotional rhetoric did make a difference. The revolutionary rhetoric of nonimportation and homespun created a climate favorable to new manufactures, and the growth of this economic sector, even before the war restricted overseas commerce, would likely have been far less widespread had Americans reacted only to market stimuli. Patriotism, as well as economic calculation, undoubtedly lay behind many early efforts to promote manufacturing. Thus, as economic concerns intensified the political crisis, the political crisis also lent new urgency to efforts to promote a more independent domestic economy. Although the fruits of these efforts would not be apparent until after the war, their roots reached back to the Revolutionary era.

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CHAPTER ONE

The British Economic System

By vanquishing the French in the Seven Years' War, Britain acquired vast new territory and vast new debts. These developments presented a difficult challenge for the first British empire: The new dominions had to be integrated into the existing structure and revenue had to be raised at the same time that an important benefit of membership in the empire—protection from France—had become largely irrelevant for the North Americans. As the war drew to a close, John Sargent, a wealthy London merchant, was very concerned that these problems would push the colonists away from the empire. To shore up American loyalty he offered a gold medal for the best essay on "reciprocal advantages of a perpetual Union between Great Britain and her American Colonies" written by a graduate of the College of Philadelphia. After a series of delays, Sargent's contest was announced in 1766.[1] In the intervening years the empire had already suffered a serious shock over the Americans' angry reaction to the Sugar Act of 1764 and the Stamp Act of 1765. Despite these disturbing developments, nine contestants vied for Sargent's prize, and three of their essays were judged to be of high enough quality to be included with a fourth written by Francis Hopkinson in a small booklet entitled *Four Dissertations on the Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union Between Great Britain and her American Colonies.*

The writers and readers of the *Four Dissertations* for the most part were not radicals. They were intellectuals, professionals, and comfortable merchants well within the mainstream of American life. The prizewinner, Dr. John Morgan, founder of the University of Pennsylvania medical school, was a steady patriot who would serve as director-general of hospitals and physician-in-chief of the American army.[2] Another, Joseph Reed, soon to be a prominent patriot and president of Pennsylvania, has been described as a "moderate man caught up in the turbulence of revolution."[3] The third, Stephen Watts, was probably a moderate loyalist.[4] Their readers, the 190 subscribers to the *Four Dissertations*, would soon be divided over whether to support the American Revolution; a majority would join the patriot cause, but a substantial minority would remain loyal to Great Britain.[5] Judging from their content, authorship, and readership, the *Four Dis-*

sertations reflected widespread satisfaction that, for the present at least, the imperial structure was beneficial for Americans, albeit with an undercurrent of concern that in the future it might become less satisfactory. These and many similar essays written on both sides of the Atlantic fit together to provide a convenient summary of the public perception of British mercantilism at the high tide of the first empire.

The essays all placed great emphasis on *economic* advantages. This should not be surprising, for despite some occasional grousing, Americans had hitherto been generally pleased with this aspect of the empire. Among the benefits were the easy availability of British manufactured goods, which fueled the ongoing consumer revolution, and the protection offered to commerce within the empire.[6] This "empire of goods" was far more attractive than the political empire, which was saddled with the contradiction between its theoretical emphasis on the equal rule of law and liberty and the concrete legal and political privileges England enjoyed over the colonies.

Britons on both sides of the Atlantic assumed that the imperial economic system was built on four interrelated principles: systematic planning, complementarity of economic functions among its constituent parts, balance-of-trade theory, and the centrality of manufacturing. These principles were reflected in the Philadelphia dissertations and in the words of authors from all parts of the empire after the Seven Years' War. These writings offer insight into how the public understood the economic structure of the empire and why they generally approved of it. They also demonstrate how internal contradictions developed within the consensus when the specific economic roles of the various parts of the empire were discussed.

Theory

Everyone assumed that the imperial economy should be an integrated *system* in which the various segments of the economy would work together. To make this system function smoothly, the dissertation writers and their contemporaries assigned specific and nonoverlapping economic roles to the colonies and England. The general assumption was that commerce could not spring up helter-skelter; it must be planned. Under such an arrangement, Joseph Reed exclaimed, "we can with joy look forward, and behold PEACE, LIBERTY, and COMMERCE diffusing their kindly influence over all the parts of Great Britain's empire."[7] Here was an economic version of the enlightenment quest for a rational, machinelike

universe. This quest led many writers on both sides of the Atlantic to extol a planned imperial economy based on cooperation among its parts.[8] In discussing the economic roles of Ireland, Scotland, and England, a writer in London's *Public Advertiser* referred approvingly to the "power-giving *system* of British commerce" and the "*system*atical partition of British commerce."[9] The American author of a piece on the Sugar Act expressed similar sentiments: "We are all link'd in a chain of natural dependance on each other, and when properly regulated, by the most prudential laws, form a beautiful whole, having within ourselves the rich sources of an active commerce and diffusive happiness."[10] Mutuality, not competition, was to be stressed in the British system.

Britons from all parts of the empire hoped to improve the system by offering incentives for the production of goods that would heighten economic cooperation and prevent undue competition. The London Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture, and Commerce offered a long list of prizes for the production of various items deemed useful to British commerce, including many American raw materials English manufacturers needed.[11] The Royal Dublin Society offered nearly £10,000 in premiums to encourage various trades and manufactures in Ireland.[12] The New York Society for Promoting Arts, Agriculture, and Œconomy performed a similar function on a smaller scale. In Scotland, manufacturers called for government bounties on flax to encourage linen manufacturing.[13] The specifics of these programs were sometimes at odds with each other, but the underlying goal was the same: an ordered, rational economic system of complementary parts.

This emphasis on mutuality within the empire was rooted in a conviction that the economic world outside of it was intensely competitive. Balance-of-trade theory, the mercantilistic belief that international trade is fundamentally a zero-sum process in which nations can only succeed if they expend less cash on imports than they gain from exports, fed this deep concern over foreign competition.[14] The Philadelphia essayists repeatedly argued that the colonies were advantageous to England because they created a favorable balance of trade for the empire. Morgan noted that before colonization, England was "obliged to pay to foreigners for all the commodities she gets from America, at a most exorbitant price."[15] Similarly, Reed described the American trade as a "fountain" producing "treasures . . . which enable [England] to pay the respective balances to those countries with whom she trades on a disadvantageous footing."[16] Watts pursued this theme even more enthusiastically, noting that American productions allowed England to maintain positive balances of trade with Spain, Sweden,

France, and Portugal. "It appears," he concluded, "that a great part of [England's] most advantageous trade depends on the colonies, and that it may be still further improved by America."[17]

Contemporary economists shared this anxiety over European competition. After the British victories in the Seven Years' War, they were anxious to find ways to use the empire's new territories to improve the balance of trade with France and Holland. This issue was a central one in the most influential economics text published in this period, Adam Anderson's *The Origins of Commerce* (1764).[18] In the preface Anderson stressed the need for a positive balance of trade with Holland and France and discussed how the various parts of the empire might be able to assist in reaching this goal. Anderson dedicated his two-volume work to the members of the London Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, whose offer of premiums for colonial raw materials had, according to Anderson, helped the empire to gain American materials and secure "whatever before was wanting to complement our superiority over the rest of the commercial world."[19]

Other contemporary economic tracts also proposed ways to overcome Britain's European trade rivals. The centerpiece of the anonymous *Propositions for Improving the Manufactures, Agriculture and Commerce of Great Britain* was a plan "for improving our manufactures, and rendering them equally good and cheap, in foreign markets with those of France and Holland." This plan, which called for various new manufactures in England and bounties for certain imports and exports, was one of several proposals aimed at getting the enlarged empire back on solid economic footing in the wake of an expensive war.[20] An author using the pseudonym "Ignotus" also stressed the competition with France but with a focus on the West Indies. Discussing the settlement of the Seven Years' War, Ignotus argued that Britain should not attempt to secure the West Indian island of Guadeloupe because it offered nothing to aid the British empire in its trade rivalry with France.[21] Discussing different specific topics, both authors worked from the premise that victory in trade rivalries was the empire's central concern.

This reasoning was also evident in less-scholarly public discussions of the economy. Merchants and manufacturers appealing to Parliament to reform the Irish linen trade frequently bemoaned competition with foreign products. A writer appealing for bounties on imported wool had similar concerns. Even an advocate for bounties for beekeepers argued, "If we cannot only supply our encreased home consumption of wax, but export it, we shall turn the balance of

commerce in a very considerable article in our favour, which is now against us."[22] Newspaper writers were obsessed with economic competition with France. They condemned English ladies and aristocrats for their preference for French finery and even scolded actors for wearing French-made clothing on stage.[23] Clearly the territorial settlement at the end of the war had not put a close to the larger struggle against France.

This concern over foreign competition stemmed from a strain of balance-of-trade theory rooted in a body of mercantilist writings stretching back well into the seventeenth century. Stimulated by the acquisition of new colonies and new debts at the end of the war, economic thinkers in the first half of the 1760s used these familiar ideas to evaluate new possibilities for the imperial economy. Two early mercantilists in particular, Josiah Child and Josia Gee, frequently appeared in Adam Anderson's footnotes. Child, a seventeenth-century economist and director of the East India Company, had been particularly concerned with the balance of trade with Holland.[24] Gee, writing in the 1720s, was concerned with improving Britain's balance of trade, especially with regard to France.[25] These mercantilists were also influential in America, where Watts cited Gee and John Dickinson cited Child in a pamphlet on British colonial trade. Dickinson also cited Malachy Postlethwayt, a contemporary mercantilist writer whose *Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* had been published in 1761.[26]

Balance-of-trade theorists frequently emphasized the importance of manufacturing to a successful economy. This point was not lost on the American competitors for Sargent's prize. Morgan explained the usefulness of manufacturers in some detail, with emphasis on their role as employers: "Whilst commodities generally employ but one set of people, manufactures employ many. They afford a subsistence to the poor, collect people into villages, extend the buildings of towns and cities, improve the soil, enhance the property of landlords, and create a considerable intercourse between artificers and merchants."[27] Watts and Reed also stressed the importance of manufactures in maintaining Britain's positive balance of trade. Manufacturing, and specifically woolens, provided the entire underpinning of the British system, allowing the empire to "support . . . such large mercantile connections," Watts wrote.[28]

This emphasis, too, had its roots in seventeenth-century economics, which viewed manufacturing as beneficial both in providing for a positive balance of foreign trade and in employing poor laborers at home. Josiah Child wished "to encourage those trades most, that vent most of our manufactures, or supply us with materials to be further manufactured in England."[29] Doing so would im-

prove England's "balance of labor" by employing English laborers rather than giving work to foreigners or colonials. In his view, therefore, the balance of labor was an important consideration in developing national wealth, in addition to the more traditional balance of cash payments. Contemporary economists continued to express this view into the early 1760s. Adam Anderson enumerated the advantages that accrued to Britain by producing manufactures for the colonies: "Probably about or near a million of our people are employed at home, many hundreds of stout ships, and many thousands of mariners constantly employed; much wealth and considerable quantities of bullion of both gold and silver, continually brought home to us."[30] This privileging of manufacturing within the British economy also helps to explain the public outrage over importation of French manufactures.

These basic principles—systematic complementarity, balance-of-trade theory, and the centrality of manufacturing—lay behind a rough public consensus on the form of Britain's economic empire. Each part of Britain—the united kingdoms (England, Wales, and Scotland), Ireland, and the colonies—was assigned a distinct role within this model. If seventeenth-century England was "conceived of as a kind of national joint-stock trading company," then the public conception of Britain in the 1760s might be described as an *imperial* joint-stock trading company.[31] In this British system England was to be the administrative and manufacturing center, the colonies were to be producers of raw materials and consumers of English manufactures, and Ireland and Scotland were to play intermediary and somewhat more ambiguous roles.

Geography

The writers of the *Four Dissertations* assumed that England, the administrative center of the empire, would also serve as its manufacturing center. Morgan observed that: "While Great Britain is employed in manufactures, America ought to be encouraged in raising all sorts of commodities, and exporting them to Britain. By which means the mother country will be supplied with materials for carrying on her manufactures, and the colonies be enabled to purchase those manufactures of which they stand in need; and thus they will become reciprocally necessary to each other." Similarly, Watts noted that "to divert [American] hands from their present lucrative employments, and set them to work on manufactories, would be incompatible with the true interest of the colonies."[32] Other Americans agreed that the colonists had every reason to be proud of their role

as consumers rather than producers of manufactures. John Dickinson summarized this position succinctly when he wrote, "[Great Britain's] prosperity depends upon her manufactures, her manufactures on the markets for them, and the most constant and advantageous markets are afforded by the colonies."[33] If colonists were denied the lucrative function of manufacturing, they nevertheless prospered as traders within the British empire, and they believed they gained much economic clout as the most important consumers of English manufactures. Their relationship with England was, in their eyes, truly one of mutual dependence rather than mere subservience.

For these writers and other contemporary economic thinkers textiles were the most important manufactures, and, in England at least, the most important textile was wool. An English author neatly expressed this view: "The most advantageous parts of commerce arises [*sic*] from manufacturing raw and natural commodities, and exporting them in a perfect and completed state, and although these are very numerous in this kingdom, yet none are equal in their importance to the Woolen Manufactory."[34] The anonymous author was quite probably a woolen manufacturer and therefore not an unbiased observer, but even the Philadelphia dissertations shared this sense of the importance of woolen manufacturing, which had been a fundamental component of the English economy since the early seventeenth century. Discussing the importance of manufactures to England's prosperity, Watts noted that "the woolen is universally allowed the preference."[35]

Scotland posed a difficult problem for the neat division between colonial raw materials and English manufacturing. The Scots, who had been joined in union with England and Wales since 1707, sought to increase textile manufacturing in their kingdom, but in the age of Bute many English people who were uncomfortable with the idea of political union with Scotland also were uncomfortable with economic union as long as Scottish textiles could compete with English products.[36] Adam Anderson, who was born in Scotland but lived mostly in London, strongly approved of Scottish textiles, particularly linens, because they aided the empire in competing with other European textile manufacturers. Scottish linen manufacturers who sought government bounties for flax in 1766 made similar arguments, citing the need to overcome competition from Germany, France, and Ireland.[37]

Other Englishmen saw Scottish textiles as a threat rather than an asset. Joseph Massie, a particularly vocal critic of Scottish manufacturing, believed that the Scots were allowed by the treaty of union only to manufacture wool produced by their own sheep.[38] He argued, in a piece reprinted in the London newspapers,

that the Scots were clearly in violation of the terms of union when they imported raw Irish wool for their manufactories. Massie complained that by allowing Scottish manufacturers rather than their English counterparts to gain Irish wool, "the people of England have given up their future wealth, naval power and greatness, because the same were derived from, are still supported by, and cannot be maintained without THE WOOLEN MANUFACTORY." Even Scottish linen posed problems, he argued, because the only way for England to pay for it was through the sale of woolen products, for which the Scots, by manufacturing wool themselves, no longer had much need.[39] In short, union with Scotland was desirable only insofar as it did not injure England's textile industry.

Unlike Scotland, Ireland remained outside the British union of 1707, yet the Irish maintained an active textile industry. After the Seven Years' War, Irish textile manufacturers actively sought, and frequently received, various forms of support for their industry. In 1763 Irish linen merchants and manufacturers pushed Parliament for a new linen bill that would expand linen manufacturing into the south of Ireland and continue the good supply of flax through the use of bounties for importation. They also sought stricter regulation, especially of "brown" or unfinished linen, to ensure that Irish products would be of a high enough quality to compete with foreign textiles. They quoted approvingly from a pamphleteer who noted that the end of the war would allow them to "cultivate the [linen] manufacture in all its various forms" and thereby sell coarse and fine linen to the empire's new dominions.[40] Shortly thereafter, the Irish parliament granted the Royal Dublin Society £8,000 "for the encouragement of certain trades and manufactures." The society earmarked some of this money for the linen manufacture, but most was to be used to encourage other industries, such as leather, iron, paper, glass, and earthenware. The largest portion, £500, was to be used to promote the Irish silk and woolen industries, which would, of course, compete with England's core textile manufactures.[41]

If the English feared textile competition from Scotland in the 1760s, why did they allow, and in some cases encourage, Ireland to continue these activities? Their acceptance of Irish linens had its roots in the Woolen Act of 1699. This legislation, which prohibited Ireland from exporting woolen cloth outside the British Isles, was designed to end the threat of Irish competition in the woolen manufacture. In the following years Parliament passed a series of measures to encourage flax cultivation and linen manufacturing in Ireland. Contemporaries and later historians perceived this activity as a legislative trade-off; the Irish would be prevented from competing with that most important of English indus-

tries, woolens, and their energy would instead be redirected into linen, a manufacture less central to the English economy. This was Massie's understanding; he explained that under King William "England resigned to Ireland . . . the manufactory of LINEN, upon the equitable condition of their not interfering with her in the manufactory of WOOLENS."[42] It also appears to have been the Irish understanding. As late as 1784, a radically anti-English Dublin newspaper referred to "the compact, solemnly entered into between the two kingdoms, towards the latter end of the last century; by which compact Ireland was to retain the exclusive trade of the linen and hempen manufactures; and England was also to retain the entire woolen business."[43]

English writers feared the Irish were not holding up their end of the bargain. A friend of the English woolen industry, noting that "the exportation of [Irish] woolen manufactures, was, and still remains an illicit trade," expressed fear that these illicit exportations were undercutting English woolens. He suggested a compromise with Irish wool merchants: "The Irish ought to be indulged so far as to have the combining and spinning of some part of their own produce, and have liberty to import it here [to England], duty free, that they might not be under the temptation of assisting in running it to France."[44] He further proposed a bounty for the importation of raw Irish wool as another measure to discourage the Irish-French woolen trade. Other writers were less concerned with Irish competition. "Brittanicus," who proposed union with Ireland in 1764, thought the "slow progress" of Irish manufacturing guaranteed that "the present generation of British manufacturers need not in the least fear that they can be affected by any attempts of the Irish in their respective works."[45]

Permissiveness toward Irish manufacturing, therefore, was consistent with the principles of the British economic system. Because manufacturing was supposed to be centered at home, Irish textile manufacturing was not always viewed with approval in London. It was generally believed, however, that woolen manufacturing, the most important English industry, had been prohibited in Ireland. The public further understood that Ireland had been granted the linen manufacture in compensation for the ban on woolens. Linen manufacturing was a more acceptable outlet for Irish industry because England did not produce enough linen to compete successfully with rivals such as Holland, France, and Germany.[46] Furthermore, the income the Irish gained through the sale of their linen allowed them to purchase more English manufactures. In this way, mercantilist writers argued, all parts of the empire worked together to enhance the balance of trade and minimize competition both from abroad and within the empire.

The place of the American colonies in this empire was less ambiguous than that of Ireland. Writers on both sides of the Atlantic generally agreed that the colonies were to perform a dual role as producers of raw materials to be used by English manufacturers and as consumers of finished English products. This arrangement was seen by the Philadelphians and others as *reciprocally* advantageous to both England and America. As Watts noted, "A reciprocal emolument will arise from a perpetual union between Britain and her American colonies; as she may by their means greatly increase her trade and commerce, and become still more rich and powerful; and as they will reap the advantage of her riches and power, by being protected from their enemies, and supplied with the conveniences of life at a cheaper rate and of a better quality than if manufactured by themselves."[47] America, the Philadelphians agreed, would add to Britain's riches by producing raw materials. Among the American products frequently mentioned as useful to England were raw silk, hemp (for rope), iron, lumber (for shipbuilding), and potash.[48]

English writers had a very similar vision for the colonies. Adam Anderson was delighted that Britain had acquired new American markets that "greatly excited our people at home to the improvement and increase of our old manufactures and to the introduction of new ones." He also congratulated the Americans on increasing their trade, "perpetually increasing their useful productions, cultivating new plantations, and successfully attempting new materials for commerce."[49] He referred mainly to the raw materials produced by the southern colonies—silk, indigo, coffee, potash, tobacco, and iron, with some mention of New England lumber and food products of the mid-Atlantic colonies.[50] Here Anderson gave particular stress to those colonial products that might be useful to British manufacturing. An anonymous economist took the same approach when he proposed "to give large bounties for the encouragement of a trade with our North American colonies, especially in such articles as shall make for the *mutual advantage* of both the mother country and her colonies."[51]

Mechanic Riots and the Search for Balance

The broad consensus on the rough outlines of the British system by no means precluded conflict over the details. While Morgan, Reed, and Watts were writing their dissertations in Philadelphia, across the Atlantic, London craftsmen were rioting against what they believed was excessive importation of foreign manufactures. Their agitation peaked in 1765, with the silk weavers, a group

whose vicissitudes were very closely connected to foreign trade, leading the way.[52] In January more than a thousand of them presented a petition to Parliament asking for a general prohibition on foreign wrought silks to help them get through the "badness of trade." They influenced at least one other group of craftsmen, the peruke makers, who petitioned the king for relief due to the decline of trade and the people's unfortunate preference for "the *French* hair dressers continually pouring in upon this nation." The following spring, king and Parliament agreed to raise duties on foreign silks, but it was not enough to assuage the weavers. Shortly after the bill was passed they marched from the weaving center of Spitalfields to Saint James Palace to petition the king for further relief. Learning that George III had gone to Richmond, they returned home. Two days later eight thousand weavers again marched to St. James, where they caused enough commotion that royal guards had to be called to disperse them.[53]

The tumult peaked the next day, May 17, when one group of weavers, after making a threatening but nonviolent appearance at the House of Peers, surrounded the house of Carr and Company, Ludgate Hill merchants who allegedly imported foreign silks, and broke its windows. Fortunately for Carr, soldiers prevented the rioters from inflicting much further damage and forced them to disperse. The Duke of Bedford was not so fortunate. The weavers were politically astute enough to realize that he had been responsible for the defeat of the bill to prohibit imported silks. Two days earlier they had surrounded Bedford's carriage, insulted him, and thrown a paving stone through the carriage window. The glass was shattered and the duke shaken up, but by blocking the stone with his arm he managed to avoid more than a cut on his hand and a minor head wound. On May 17, the weavers again threatened Bedford by surrounding his house on Bloomsbury Square. They refused to leave until the Riot Act was read, and they were forced out by cavalry, whose horses trampled several of the protestors. City officials were so alarmed that they held additional troops in readiness throughout the remainder of May.[54]

The ideology behind this protectionist agitation rested on a popular understanding of how the British system should assist the poor in times of distress. Mechanics had no quarrel with the general belief that manufactures improved the "balance of labor." Their concern was that during hard times the workers suffered. As the weavers complained in their 1765 petition, "Our wives, sons, and daughters are mostly without employ, and consequently many of us are in the utmost poverty and want!"[55] If there was no work for these laborers, then the

system needed to be adjusted so that they would not remain idle and hungry. Furthermore, if workers remained idle too long, there was always the possibility that they might go to America or elsewhere looking for work, and as one anonymous author noted, "Our late flourishing trade will soon follow."[56] Prosperous workers meant a prosperous England, and therefore tariffs protected everybody.

By 1768–69 English mechanics began to ask for protection from what they often called the "dearness of provisions." This was the concern of rural food rioters, whose anger at what they viewed as the unjustly inflated price of corn E. P. Thompson famously described as a "moral economy."[57] Urban mechanics, too, occasionally protested high food prices; for example, journeymen weavers blocked the road from Hackney to London in June of 1769 and forced farmers traveling along it to sell their peas for only three pence a peck.[58] More frequently, they worried about the raw materials needed for their trades. If these items became too expensive, then mechanics and manufacturers would lose their already narrow profit margin.

A large group of "labouring mechanics"—ship carpenters, weavers, and others—demonstrated at locations throughout London in early May to complain of the "extravagant price of provisions and the low price of labour." They threatened to present a petition to Parliament later in the spring, but over the next year the loudest voices crying for lower prices would be those of the leather trades. By July, newspapers reported that an "honest shoe maker" from Devonshire had waited on John Wilkes to request that he help repeal the Parliamentary act encouraging leather exports. In late autumn and early winter, leatherworkers in Nottingham and Norwich joined in with petitions bemoaning the high price of leather. Like the honest shoemaker, they believed the problem was exacerbated by the bounties paid to leather exporters. Both groups framed their petitions as requests for poor relief. Leatherworkers continued to agitate for relief through early 1769 when they demonstrated at a Board of Trade meeting and circulated petitions in London, Birmingham, and Canterbury.[59] Their arguments were very similar to those of food rioters, who urged a halt to the exportation of corn while Englishmen starved and begged that millers and others charge a just price for provisions.

These concerns also sparked a lively debate in the pamphlets and newspapers. For many writers the basic issue was whether and how to lower the high price of supplies. Some wrote in favor of free trade as the only permanent solution to England's problems and condemned the poor for their alleged lawlessness and laziness.[60] Free trade ideas had emerged in England in the seventeenth century,

but by the eighteenth century their advocates were in the minority, and most writers shared the mechanics' basic position that government was obliged to remedy the situation.[61] One anonymous author went so far as to argue that "the distresses of the poor, occasioned by the dearness of provisions, are very great, and merit the attention of the legislature beyond all other subjects whatever." Inexpensive supplies, the author continued, lead to inexpensive manufactures, which lead to greater trade. Therefore, England's greatness rests on the shoulders of "the lower class of people," and it is "both our interest and our duty to treat them with tenderness and humanity, and do everything in our power to render their lives comfortable and happy."[62] Even some writers who condemned the rioters agreed the government must take some responsibility. One such author concluded that although it might be beyond the power of government to remedy the economic distress completely, the mechanics nonetheless must "rest assured, that all that can be done, will be done." Others thought that protective legislation was a mistake; rather, the rich should try to make English goods fashionable by *voluntarily* refusing to buy foreign products.[63]

Even the strongly protectionist silk weavers were occasionally divided on specific policy issues. At their 1768 meeting, during the height of the economic crisis, one speaker, no doubt a silk importer rather than a weaver, argued that if English firms did not import silks then their rivals would, legally or illegally, thereby depriving England of the benefits of trade and transferring them to foreigners. The majority disagreed with him and voted to petition the East India Company to cease importing wrought silks. However, they urged the directors to continue to import as much *raw silk* as possible in order to lower the price of that expensive material for weavers.[64] This episode illustrates the tensions between those in the silk industry who imported foreign products (usually masters and merchants) and those who manufactured silk from raw materials (weavers especially). It also demonstrates the intimate connection between the mechanics' desire for protection from foreign goods and concern about the price of raw materials. While importations of manufactured products could have a devastating effect on the mechanics, importations of inexpensive raw materials were often crucial to their survival. Therefore, while some importations must be strongly discouraged, others, mechanics argued, should be encouraged.

The role of government, therefore, was to try to protect everyone by balancing the conflicting demands of the manufacturers, traders, and farmers. As one pamphlet writer explained it, "The great art is to balance their seemingly clashing interests, in such a manner that none of them may be oppressed; as all being

eminently useful and necessary to each other and to the public weal."[65] As the silk weavers' situation suggests, this was an extremely complex task for which there could be no formulaic solution. Sometimes import duties were called for, but sometimes, as in the case of leather or corn, it was necessary to stem the flow of exportation to keep supplies plentiful and prices lower at home. Whatever the method, the basic goal was to protect the entire public, not just the rich. This sense of evenhanded protection for all made the British system seem legitimate and fair to the mechanics, so that when they protested they attacked specific policy issues, not the underlying basis of British political economy.

The British System Disintegrates

One of the most remarkable aspects of American dissatisfaction with the empire is how suddenly it began. In 1763 Anglo-Americans were proud to be Britons. They celebrated the English heritage of political freedom and liberty, and, in the economic sphere, they were satisfied with their important role within the British system. However, little more than a decade later, they would be fighting for both political and economic independence from the mother country. While library bookshelves sag under the voluminous literature about the Revolution, scholars continue to have difficulty saying exactly why colonial-imperial relations soured so quickly.

In the economic sphere an important trigger was a developing tension within imperial policy regarding the place of the colonies in the British system. Although everyone agreed that Americans played a crucial role as producers of raw materials and consumers of English manufactures, many in England shared John Sargent's fear that the colonies might soon chafe at the limits of "mutually advantageous" production and start to compete with English manufactures. In 1764 hat manufacturers in particular feared American competition. They complained that the easy availability of beaver skins in the colonies had induced Americans "to set up the manufacture of making of beaver hats, and to neglect business in which they might be more beneficial to this kingdom." To rectify this problem the English hat makers requested that the colonists be prohibited from exporting American-made hats so that "the hat makers of Great Britain be enabled to regain the sole advantage of supplying foreign markets with hats."[66] These complaints suggest that the Hat Act of 1732, prohibiting the colonies from exporting hats to other colonies, to Europe, or to Britain, was neither obeyed nor enforced. The hat makers were not alone in their fear of American competition.

One economist insisted that, despite all evidence to the contrary, Americans were embarking on manufacturing on a large scale in 1763. He called for England to put an immediate end to these alleged manufactories and to prohibit Americans from importing non-English manufactures. Failure to do so would "be attended with fatal consequences to us, who have run ourselves so much in debt" to support the colonists.[67]

Rather than proposing harsh restrictions on American products, other writers devised clever plans to channel America's expanding economy into more productive channels. A Newcastle newspaper writer suggested that Americans be allowed to export wool to England duty free. Such a plan might offend English graziers, but the author argued that this concern would be more than counterbalanced by the aid it would give English woolen manufactures; for if Americans could not easily export their wool, they would only manufacture it themselves in competition with the mother country. Another newspaper writer suggested that the colonists be encouraged to use their energy to produce wine, a product that would aid the empire in its economic competition with France, Spain, and other rivals.[68] One writer went so far as to conclude that American manufacturing, as long as it did not undersell English goods, would always aid the empire by excluding foreigners from rivaling England and by keeping cash within the empire rather than sending it abroad.[69]

Some writers hoped to divert the colonials from manufacturing by allowing them to expand their West Indian trade. This argument was especially popular among those who opposed the restrictive Sugar Acts of 1764. They argued that it was better to allow Americans to trade freely with the West Indies than to push them into manufacturing their own goods. Even before the Sugar Act, a pamphleteer writing primarily on the African trade argued that North America played a crucial role in this trade by provisioning the West Indies, the major market for African slaves. Restrictions on North America's trade with the West Indies would, therefore, be highly detrimental to Britain's lucrative African connection.[70]

As the conflict over the Sugar Act heated up, Americans would make similar points from more self-interested motives; one critic contended that by limiting the flow of goods between the West Indies and North America, the Sugar Act "must of consequence proportionally obstruct the consumption of British manufactures" by North Americans, who would have less to trade for British goods.[71] Americans would continue to use this argument against Parliament in their economic protests of the late 1760s and early 1770s, but in 1764 at least it could easily be defended within the terms of the British economic system, which held

that increasing American purchases of British manufactures was an important goal of the economic empire.

Mounting debts forced Whitehall to change the system itself, as the authorities increasingly looked to the colonies as a source of revenue in the desperate push to pay for the expenses of the Seven Years' War. Charles M. Andrews has famously described this development as a shift from mercantilism to "territorial imperialism."[72] This new perspective quickly became orthodoxy after 1763.[73] Parliament had, in effect, changed the rules of the game without consulting the players. As Edmund Burke noted in his well-known 1773 "Speech on American Taxation": "Whether you were right or wrong in establishing the colonies on the principle of commercial monopoly, rather than on that of revenue, is at this day a problem of mere speculation. *You cannot have both by the same authority.* To join together the restraints of an universal internal and external monopoly, with an universal internal and external taxation, is an unnatural union; perfect uncompensated slavery."[74] The issue then was not so much internal versus external taxation or even mercantilism versus imperialism. It was that Whitehall was trying to combine both mercantilism and imperialism by continuing to regulate the colonials' position within the British system at the same time that Parliament levied new taxes on them without their consent.

The colonists' reaction to these economic innovations mirrored their reaction to perceived political innovations. Just as they fashioned themselves as conservative Whigs, harking back to older, established notions of British political liberties in reaction to alleged political corruption, the colonists also portrayed themselves as adhering to the true mercantilistic principles of the British economic system in the face of Whitehall's imperialist innovations. This stance was apparent in John Dickinson's widely read *Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer:*

> I have looked over every *statute* relating to these colonies, from their first settlement to this time; and I find every one of them founded on this principle, till the *Stamp Act* administration. *All before*, are calculated to regulate trade, and preserve or promote a mutually beneficial intercourse between the several constituent parts of the empire; and though many of them imposed duties on trade, yet those duties were always imposed *with design* to restrain the commerce of one part, that was injurious to another, and thus promote the general welfare.[75]

The Stamp Act was offensive, in Dickinson's opinion, because it violated the tenets of British mercantilism by imposing duties designed to raise revenue rather than to facilitate the smooth functioning of the economic system.

Philadelphia's merchants and traders expressed similar attitudes in protesting the Townshend Duties. Writing to the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, they expressed their fidelity to the British system, noting that "it is our first desire" to see British and colonial commercial interests "inseparably connected . . . on principles of mutual benefit, the grand cement, and only solid foundation, on which a union between them can be properly established." In conforming to this system, colonists had "generally contented themselves with supplying their want, and even their luxuries, from their Mother Country, and applying their labour and industry to cultivation of their lands, and raising such commodities as would . . . serve for remittances to discharge of their debts to Britain." But the Townshend Duties, by interfering with this trade, would force Americans to "set up manufactories of their own; which must gradually diminish, and its consequence put an end to that mutually beneficial commerce, that has hitherto existed between us."[76] The implication of this logic was clear: It was Whitehall, not the colonists, that was violating the spirit of the British economic system. The harmonious "reciprocal dependence" the Philadelphia dissertations described was collapsing.

Despite the unraveling of this consensus and the ultimate success of the independence movement, aspects of the old British system would remain influential in the economic thought of the new nation for many decades. The mercantilistic concern with the balance of trade in a world of extreme commercial competition would inform American economic thinking through the 1830s and beyond. The idea that manufacturing was the best way to succeed at this competition would also remain an important principle for many Americans, as would the desire for a rational system that would integrate the various aspects of the economy in an efficient way, thereby promoting economic self-sufficiency. At the same time, the old economic configuration, in which Americans were dependent on British manufactures, would prove maddeningly persistent, despite American political independence. The friends of American manufacturing would continue to use language shaped by the British system to fight this economic dependence.

CHAPTER TWO

Manufacturing and Revolution

The American Revolution developed from the discovery that old consensuses no longer applied. The colonists initially assumed that their protests used a political vocabulary shared by all Britons. Between 1765 and 1775 Americans discovered, to their surprise, that their understanding of liberty was quite different from what prevailed at court and in Parliament. The realization that they now spoke a different political language than was fashionable at the empire's center formed the core of the political revolution. Much the same could be said of colonial economic language. Until the 1760s Americans were generally happy with their place in the British system, and in their initial protests against the new policies after 1763 they believed they were upholding the old consensus while Whitehall was destroying it. As their protests continued, however, the Americans began to reconsider the British system and their place within it. This transformation was slow and far from uniform. Many Americans continued to view nonimportation and other protests merely as a means of forcing Parliament to reinstate the status quo, at least until 1776. This *instrumentalist* position prevailed especially among urban merchants concerned with resuming the lucrative pre-1765 trade. Others, most notably urban mechanics, began to take a *developmental* position well before 1776. Developmentalists increasingly came to see the protests against British taxation not as an effort to return to the old tenets of the British system but as the springboard to a new postcolonial economy based on domestic production at least as much as on overseas trade.

Ben Franklin's Slippery Slope

The story of Benjamin Franklin and the Philadelphia Silk Society vividly illustrates the mounting difficulties the instrumentalists faced in attempting to work within the British system. The merchants and gentlemen in Franklin's American Philosophical Society had long been interested in promoting new American products, and they had begun considering silk as early as 1768.[1] Silk appeared to be an ideal material for American production within the terms of

the British system. One of the problems creating unrest among London weavers was the high price of raw silk, which had to be imported from abroad. If America could become a silk-producing region, London would gain easier and cheaper access to raw silk. Thus, the British balance of trade would improve because there would be no need to spend cash outside the empire. To encourage colonial production, both Parliament and the London Society of Arts offered premiums to Americans raising silk for English manufacturers. Franklin's colleagues also hoped to gain support from the Pennsylvania General Assembly for their own program of premiums. Silk, they explained to the assembly, "may shortly become a valuable remittance from hence to Great Britain, in payment of the manufactures we receive from our mother country."[2]

Before it could be shipped, raw silk had to be reeled from the cocoons into thread. The Philadelphia Society set up a public filature in 1770 so that Pennsylvanians raising silk cocoons could have their product prepared for shipping. To get this enterprise working properly, the Society hired Joseph Ottolenghe, an Italian who had been the overseer at a filature in Savannah, Georgia. They also hired several young spinners to be trained by Ottolenghe, who was now in effect overseeing a small manufacturing concern producing semifinished goods for final processing in England.[3] This sort of colonial manufacturing was still acceptable within the British system, so when Franklin, acting as the Society's London agent, offered one of the first parcels of silk to the Queen, she "was pleased to accept it very graciously, and say, that she would have it woven, and wear it on some public occasion . . . [perhaps] the King's Birthday."[4]

While the silk society moved forward, Franklin, like his countrymen, was in the process of reconsidering America's role within the British system. Historians have often referred to him as an antimanufacturing physiocrat, yet his letters reveal that as early as 1764 he favored some domestic manufacturing.[5] At that time he wrote to an English correspondent that Americans had discovered a "button mine," a beach where the sea naturally shaped shells into buttons. This discovery, Franklin joked, could prove a harbinger of future manufacturing developments, for "As we have now got Buttons, 'tis something towards our cloathing; and who knows but in time we may find out where to get cloth?" He concluded, less whimsically, that "as to our being always supply'd by you 'tis a folly to expect it."[6] If Americans were not yet ready to become real manufacturers without divine intervention, Franklin nonetheless anticipated a time when they would cut their economic ties to England.

Under the pressure of the crises of the 1760s, Franklin gradually became con-

vinced that this moment had arrived. By 1768 he was touting manufacturing as a "natural right" for Americans, yet in the same year he hoped Bostonians would play down their pro-manufacturing rhetoric as it would "give less umbrage if we meddled only with such manufactures as England does not attend to." It was not increased manufacturing so much as the possibility of offending English authorities by rejecting the British system's strictures on competition that concerned him. Between 1769 and 1772 Franklin overcame even this concern as he explicitly endorsed several large new American manufacturing projects that clearly would compete with such English productions as glass, nails, and china, and he urged his countrymen to "disdain the thraldom we have so long been held in by this mischievous commerce [i.e., with England] . . . and seek our resources where God and Nature have placed them WITHIN OURSELVES." Impressed with these new projects, Franklin had determined that American manufacturing had already matured to the point where "the cheapness of our provisions gives us such advantage over the Manufacturers in Britain, that (especially in bulky goods, whose freight would be considerable) we may always UNDERWORK them."[7]

Soon Franklin began to push Americans toward weaving their own silk. In March of 1773 he recommended that the managers of the filature hire Joseph Clark, an English Quaker silk weaver "desirous of going to America." Franklin explained to them that he expected English premiums for American silk to be lowered soon, and eventually dropped altogether. Faced with this prospect, he wrote, "I should think it not amiss to begin early laying the foundation for the future manufacture of it, and perhaps . . . if he finds employment, [Clark] may be the means of raising hands for that purpose." Franklin may also have been considering that, due to the depressed state of the English silk weaving business, the Society was unable to get a good price for its product in England. Perhaps setting up silk weavers in America would solve that problem.[8] Instead of creating the intended niche for colonial producers safely within the British economic system, the silk project was now creating the potential for new economic competition between colony and mother country.

Many Americans followed Franklin in their thinking about manufacturing. Establishing manufactories in the colonies was potentially a radical act because it implied rejection of the British economic system, which sought to keep manufacturing at the center and raw material production at the colonial periphery. Much as the rejection of British sovereignty in 1776 was a step toward political independence, rejection of the British system could be viewed as a step toward economic independence. Like Franklin, many colonists did not initially support

manufacturing in order to reject the British system. Rather, they were attempting to find ways to work within the system. These manufacturing proponents, mostly the sort of elite merchants and professionals who were attracted to the American Philosophical Society, viewed manufacturing as a useful instrument in opposing various revenue acts and returning the economic system to its pre-1764 form. Those who subscribed to this instrumental position hoped that the threat of American-made manufactures would scare the English—especially the manufacturers and merchants who made and sold goods for the American market—into opposing the various programs for tightening parliamentary control of the colonies via taxation and other measures.

Developmentalists, especially urban mechanics, did view New World manufacturing as a means of developing the American economy and gaining economic independence from Britain. Initially, their approach had little influence in American politics. As the crisis unfolded, however, their position slowly rose to prominence. The idea of economic independence gained momentum once Americans tentatively turned to manufacturing for themselves through patriotic civic efforts such as Franklin's silk society and through private enterprises founded by profit-minded businessmen. The related nonimportation and homespun movements also introduced suspicion of British manufactures and support for American products by calling for an economic boycott of British goods and increased attention to household manufacturing. The profusion of new manufacturing projects during the Townshend crisis, in particular, showed that Americans were capable of producing finished goods, even as the promotional literature surrounding these efforts brought manufacturing into the mainstream of the patriotic public discourse. Although many of these projects' supporters had not intended to reject the British system, the logic of the situation pushed them in that direction, in the same way that the silk society project pushed Franklin toward support for more widespread manufacturing.

Sugar, Stamps, and Manufacturing

The instrumentalist position dominated the colonial reaction to the Sugar and Stamp Acts of 1764–65. Manufacturing took on new importance in two ways. Colonists viewed it as a means of temporarily shoring up their faltering economy—until Parliament could be brought to its senses and the offending acts repealed. Many activists also saw the threat of boycotting British imports as a potent weapon to bring about that repeal. Instead of attacking the British eco-

nomic system, their goal was to force Parliament to restore the old status quo and, in the interim, to fine-tune the American economy to operate more smoothly within the existing framework. Their activity fell into three categories. First, in some cities, merchants and other civic leaders formed quasipublic community projects to encourage manufacturing in various ways. Second, many of these same leaders supported nonimportation efforts. Finally, a wide spectrum of the population attempted to encourage manufacturing through private activity ranging from sewing their own clothing (homespun) to building for-profit manufactories intended, on a miniature scale, to replicate British establishments and replace imports with American products.

Shortly after Parliament passed the Sugar Act, a group of influential merchants, several with ties to manufacturing, formed the New York Society for Promoting Arts, Agriculture and Œconomy. This society, the most active and influential American manufacturing project of its day, demonstrates how even those Americans who favored manufacturing still hoped to work within the British system. The founders sought to ease the economic disruptions caused by the postwar depression and intensified by the Sugar Act by "encouraging our own manufactures," "transfusing a spirit of Œconomy through all ranks and degrees of people," and "checking the ruinous progress of profusion and extravagance." Reflecting tried and true mercantilist ideas of redressing unfavorable balances of trade by consuming fewer foreign goods and producing more at home, this program would not threaten the foundations of the British system so long as it posed no long-term threat to English merchants and manufacturers.[9] An anonymous newspaper writer, possibly a member of the Society, was pleased that the plan to offer premiums for the production of various goods "scrupulously avoided encouraging any articles that may immediately affect England, our kind and indulgent parent, who I am convinced will never knowingly and with partial views, aggrieve us."[10] One set of premiums, drawn up by the Society's subcommittees on agriculture and arts, offered cash awards and other prizes to New Yorkers producing the largest quantities of crops such as grass, turnips, flax, and hemp. None of these products posed a threat to England, and some, particularly flax and hemp, were needed there. As the Society's literature noted, the colonial legislature and the London Society for Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce both already offered premiums on hemp, which was viewed as the proper sort of good for colonial exportation to English manufacturers.[11]

The premiums offered by the Society's arts committee, however, did challenge the British system. The committee was dominated by a tightly connected

group of merchants who were heavily involved in New York's iron industry. Perhaps because of this background, they encouraged the production of sophisticated manufactures in New York. They offered bounties for the production of linen cloth and woven stockings. They also set up a small manufactory with fourteen looms on which poor people could spin flax. It may have been these spinners, or household weavers, who produced green linen that sold for eight shillings a yard in January of 1766.[12] In December 1765 the committee publicly endorsed New York manufactured paper hangings and iron tools, which they praised as "the best of their kinds they had ever seen," and predicted that "for the future we shall be better and cheaper served in these articles, and a very considerable sum saved to the province."[13] These recommendations were all contradictory to the spirit of the British economic system, and in the case of tool manufacturing they arguably violated the Iron Act of 1750.[14]

Rather than doggedly challenging the British system, the committee seems to have been searching for new products to stimulate the moribund American economy; in addition to the textile and iron products, they also offered premiums for local production of many goods that fit the traditional conception of the colonial economy. These included potash, linen thread, and leather hides, all of which were useful to English manufacturers. Potash, in particular, had been encouraged by colonial governments and the London Society because of its usefulness to English manufacturers in making products such as glass and soap. The London Society even sent James Stewart to New England in 1763 to give technical advice to American potash makers.[15] Encouragement of these productions, therefore, could not have been controversial; Massachusetts's royal governor would himself describe potash as a "proper staple" for New England in 1765.[16]

Two other manufacturing projects with the potential to challenge the British economic system gained support from urban civic leaders. In 1765 a number of civic-minded Philadelphians, including Franklin, asked the public to subscribe to a linen manufactory as a way of assisting the city's poor, giving them work to make them less "burthensome to their neighbours" during the postwar depression. The group's literature, which referred to "the gloomy prospect that opened on our trade" and on the affairs of the colonies in general, offered the barest hint that resistance to the Sugar Act, a portion of which effectively raised taxes on non-British textiles, also was a motive. This aspect was either deliberately played down or not deemed important by the managers, who were mostly wealthy merchants but also a few prominent mechanics.[17] The project was an ambitious one; within a little more than a year the company had purchased a lot, planned to

build a new structure, and hired over one hundred persons "chiefly of the poorer sort." It was also potentially radical in the sense that it produced coarse linen, a manufactured product, rather than just linen thread, which could be exported to England to be made into linen fabrics. The project was, however, ultimately too ambitious, and it failed by January 1767, apparently due to difficulties in procuring inexpensive labor. In early 1765 a Boston manufacturer named John Brown had begun a similar but smaller project in the Manufactory House, which sat on municipally owned land. Soon it was producing finished fabrics that were "bought by some of the principal ladies in the town," but it, too, failed by 1767.[18]

Concurrent with the manufacturing initiatives, the merchant-led nonimportation movement of 1765–66 was a purely instrumental program concerned only with bullying Parliament into modifying or repealing recent acts of trade. Its leaders viewed nonimportation as a weapon of economic coercion; if the Sugar and Stamp Acts were not repealed, the colonies would paralyze the British economic system by starving the English manufacturers. This was an extreme measure, but it was not to be a permanent one, for nearly everyone expected that the British system would resume its familiar pattern once the dispute over the acts of trade was resolved. This opinion was reflected in a newspaper appeal to the British public by "A North American" living in England. The author attempted to assure the English that Americans were not interested in permanently reordering the British system. "Nothing is more repugnant both to their interests and inclination, than the establishment of manufactures among themselves," the North American wrote. But Americans had set up, and would continue to support, manufacturing projects until the acts of trade were repealed. "If [the English] are offended that [the colonists] have set up works of their own," the author wrote, "let us take away the necessity which compelled them to such a measure, and the consequences will be such as must answer our warmest expectation."[19] Frequent republication in America of articles from the English press expressing alarm at the rise of American manufacturing underscored the same point; Americans angered by the acts of trade had the power to do real harm to the British economic system.[20]

These threats became more explicit when merchants in all the cities passed nonimportation resolves in the fall of 1765.[21] Large numbers of merchants—ranging from two hundred in New York to over four hundred in Philadelphia—vowed not to import British goods until the repeal of the Stamp Act. They had no interest in making nonimportation permanent, for it could destroy them in the long run. In the short run, though, it served as a weapon against Parliament

and a chance to ease the backlog of British goods. Philadelphia's merchants alluded to this backlog in their resolutions when they noted that the Stamp Act "if carried into execution in this province, will further tend to prevent our making those remittances to Great Britain for payment of old debts, or purchase of more goods." Nonimportation, they hoped, would "stimulate the good people of this province to be frugal in their use and consumption of all manufactures, excepting those of America, and lawful goods coming directly from Ireland, manufactured there, whilst the necessities of our country are such as to require it; and in hopes that their brethren, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, will find their own interest so intimately connected with ours, that they will be spurred on to befriend us from that motive."[22] This was economic warfare, with the merchants' "friends," the English merchants and manufacturers, as hostages, but it was not a platform for American economic independence.

The rhetoric of nonimportation merged with and reinforced existing efforts to promote domestic manufacturing, particularly the homespun movement, which hoped to make homemade products so fashionable that Americans would prefer them to imports. The homespun movement fit so well with the basic premise of nonimportation—the threat that Americans would end their dependence on British manufacturers if the Stamp Act was not repealed—that it is tempting to see them as different sides of the same coin. In fact, the homespun movement preceded nonimportation and stemmed from genuine disgust at "luxury"—the excessive purchase of foreign "gewgaws"—and concern about the post-1763 depression, as well as anger at British taxation.[23]

Boston, the city hardest hit by the depression and most influenced by puritan abhorrence of luxury, offers the best illustration of the homespun movement. As early as the summer of 1764 Boston's newspapers were praising citizens who favored homespun over foreign clothing. In the fall the city's tradesmen resolved to wear only Massachusetts-made leather at work, and a number of "respectable inhabitants" pledged to avoid excessive finery in funeral attire. The movement for simplicity in mourning was praised as a means of lessening the amount of cash exported to England for manufactures, and, in a somewhat more moralistic vein, as a way to "suppress extravagance and promote frugality."[24] Similarly, Philadelphia's various fire companies, many of which had a sizable number of mechanic members, resolved throughout the first half of 1765 to avoid purchasing lamb meat for the year "from motive of frugality" and "for better promoting the increase of sheep in this province," thus providing more wool for homespun.[25] In New York, the Society for Promoting Arts, Agriculture and Œcon-

omy announced that it would sponsor a market on the third Wednesday of each month at which home manufactures such as yarn, cloth, and stockings would be sold. When the merchants agreed to nonimportation later that month, the local press linked it to the homespun market, which would facilitate the purchase of domestic goods when British goods could no longer be imported. The demand for homespun was so great at the first market day "that everything was immediately bought up, as all ranks of people take a laudable pride in wearing what is made among ourselves," and the Society soon resolved to double the number of market days to two each month.[26]

Nonimportation also acted as a protective tariff for a number of projects organized by artisans, a few of which competed with finished British goods. In both New York and Philadelphia, artisans produced wrought iron goods, especially anchors, despite the Iron Act. These mechanics competed with the British companies that controlled some large New York firms, such as the Sterling Iron Works.[27] Also in New York, publisher Hugh Gaine personally offered premiums to anyone who could provide him with the largest quantity of rags to be made into paper, much as the New York Society offered premiums for other goods. Shoemakers and carriage makers also set up shop in that city during these years.[28] In Philadelphia, Samuel Davis and Job Bacon opened a hat manufactory, and Daniel Mause began the Hand-in-Hand Stocking Manufactory . In the advertisement announcing his new venture, Mause expressed hope that he would meet with encouragement "at a time when AMERICA calls for the endeavours of her SONS," stressing that his stockings were "the produce and manufacture of AMERICA only." Unfortunately, his timing was spectacularly poor, for the next day the newspaper reported that Philadelphians had vowed to resume wearing British manufactures after Parliament's repeal of the Stamp Act.[29] By the time Mause and others were able to begin their manufacturing schemes, the crisis had subsided. The chief product of nonimportation, therefore, was pro-manufacturing rhetoric rather than a flood of American-made goods.

After March 1766, when the colonists learned of the repeal of the Stamp Act, even the rhetoric faded. A group of more than three hundred Philadelphia gentlemen celebrating the repeal resolved "to dress ourselves in a new suit, of the manufactures of England, and give what homespun we have to the poor" on the king's next birthday. This resolution did not bode well for the sale of American-made goods. In New York the homespun market held on, but it was promoted as a poor-relief effort, to give indigent women a bit of cash for spinning, rather than as part of the struggle against tyranny. Soon the Society for Promoting Arts,

Agriculture and Œconomy slipped into a "comatose" condition.[30] Boston's manufactory house went up for auction, and potential purchasers were advised that they might wish to convert it to some use other than manufacturing, for "as the Stamp Act is repealed there will not be that occasion for it."[31] Economic difficulties, the Sugar Act, and the Stamp Act had provoked widespread discussion of the potential for American manufacturing and some new manufacturing ventures, but with the resolution of the political crisis there seemed little reason to continue.

Townshend Duties and Economic Development

During the crisis prompted by the Townshend Duties, from late 1767 to 1770, the developmental position gained much influence. The transformation, however, was by no means complete, and many projects jumbled instrumentalist and developmental logic together. One such project was first suggested at a 1767 Boston Town Meeting. Amid a flurry of nonimportation and pro-manufacturing rhetoric, Bostonians voted to consider some "measures for employing the poor . . . by reviving the linnen manufacture, and in such other ways as shall be thought most beneficial."[32] Superficially, this resolution appeared to be only a poor-relief measure, but other considerations suggest it also was an effort to encourage local textile manufacturing. The resolutions were passed at the end of a long and angry day during which several nonimportation, nonconsumption, and pro-manufacturing resolutions were passed. The men chosen to direct the scheme—John Barrett, Meletiah Brown, Edward Payne, Henderson Inches, and Ezekial Goldthwait—were radical merchants involved in other anti-English protests, and they referred to the issue of economic independence and a positive balance of trade when they wrote that the project would save Massachusetts "at least £30,000 sterling annually sent to Great Britain for duck only."[33]

Despite their enthusiasm at Town Meeting, Bostonians showed little interest in opening their wallets for the scheme. At subsequent meetings held in January and March they learned that the project's managers had resolved to begin a subscription drive for a manufactory of sailcloth (also known as duck cloth) that would "be not only a constant employ to the poor, but be greatly advantageous to the Town in many other respects." The General Court agreed to lease out the Manufactory House for the sailcloth project provided it would be well under way within a year, a condition the project would utterly fail to meet. The directors were able to raise only half the money needed to purchase tools and to secure

pledges for merely a third of the projected annual operating costs. Perhaps Bostonians were too strapped for cash to contribute. Some no doubt distrusted the directors' politics or just thought the scheme would not work. Others feared the directors were more self-interested than public spirited.[34] Still others wanted to enlarge Brown's existing linen project rather than start from scratch.[35] Whatever the reasons, the failure of the subscription drive revealed that Boston's enthusiasm for manufacturing was not unconditional.

Another merchant-run project, Philadelphia's Bettering House, attempted to give shelter and employment to the city's poor, skilled and unskilled. These workers produced relatively large quantities of textiles, shoes, and, later, nails. The project's conservative Quaker merchant directors initially were more committed to providing relief for all poor people than to encouraging manufactures.[36] By the end of this period, however, economic problems forced them to concentrate more on developing viable manufacturing programs, even though projects such as the nailery begun in 1769 would assist only one segment of the city's paupers, the skilled, or "industrious," poor. By 1769 the Quakers were clearly violating the spirit of the Iron Act and the British system by producing several tons of nails as well as finished textiles.[37]

Nonimportation, during the Townshend crisis, evolved from a purely instrumental means of overturning onerous legislation to a method of transforming the economy by developing permanent manufactories. The new emphasis on production was due in part to the increased participation of producers. Mechanics and manufacturers had been silent in the previous merchant-controlled nonimportation movement, but they now found their voice as they pressured merchants to enforce and continue nonimportation. Mechanics played an important part in the Boston Town Meeting that prompted the return to nonimportation. At this meeting, Bostonians agreed to the Manufactory House project and several other pro-manufacturing measures "to prevent the unnecessary importation of European commodities which threaten the country with poverty and ruin." First, they vowed "to encourage the produce and manufactures of this province and lessen the use of superfluities" by limiting or banning importation of a long list of manufactures. Responding to the items specified by the Townshend Duties, they agreed to encourage the use of American-made glass and paper. They also voiced their approval of earlier measures promoting "frugality" at funerals, specifically the use of American-made gloves rather than imports. Manufacturers and their products also had a strong symbolic presence at the meeting. During lulls, the townspeople were able to examine samples of locally

manufactured products, including starch, hair powder, glue, and snuff. No doubt these items served to remind them that Americans had the wherewithal to produce their own manufactures rather than rely on British goods. In addition, Boston's paper manufacturers assured their townsmen that if supplied with the necessary raw materials, primarily rags, "they could supply the province with whatever sorts of paper they have occasion for, in sufficient quantity, with some left for the other colonies." Such a pledge made it easier for the townspeople to enter into a boycott of British paper. Radical Whigs may have been disappointed that the meeting did not completely halt importations from Britain, but the pro-manufacturing rhetoric marked an important step toward the acceptance of economic independence.[38]

Many merchants in the Quaker city continued to take the instrumental position. Should the odious acts of trade be continued, a large group of Philadelphia merchants wrote in 1768, "it is too evident to be denied, that they will compel the people from necessity to raise the raw materials, and operate as bounties by encouraging the Americans to manufacture for themselves."[39] For these merchants and many others manufacturing continued to be less a positive good than a temporary measure born of desperation. In the spring of 1770 Franklin tried unsuccessfully to convince Joseph Galloway, a conservative merchant, that nonimportation would have the desirable effect of assisting new manufactories and thereby improve the balance of trade with England. Other merchants, most notably those in the dry goods trade, also opposed nonimportation and hoped to end the boycott in 1770. Philadelphia's mechanics felt the need to keep the pressure on such recalcitrant types. In May of that year, as disaffection with nonimportation grew among merchants, the city's mechanics threatened to boycott any who backed down from the agreement.[40]

In New York City mechanic-merchant tensions followed a similar dynamic. Whereas the merchants reluctantly supported nonimportation, the mechanics warmly embraced it. Tradesmen and mechanics held their own meeting shortly after the merchants agreed to nonimportation in 1768. Described by the mechanics as an effort "to support and strengthen our neighbours, the merchants of this city," the meeting also served as a none-too-subtle threat that the mechanics would be watching the merchants to ensure that they honored their nonimportation resolves. The mechanics pledged to inform the public of any merchant or retailer who violated the agreement and to "use every lawful means in our power" to prevent others from patronizing such traitors.[41] These mechanics were beginning to see the benefits of nonimportation and the potential for

economic self-sufficiency, and they were not going to allow the merchants to subvert it.

Nonimportation spurred an explosion of new private manufacturing concerns from 1769 to 1772. Although most of the manufacturers who promoted these projects seem to have been more opportunistic than politically radical, by creating viable manufacturing establishments they pushed the American economy further away from the path Whitehall had set for it. The Townshend Duties unintentionally created a protective tariff by taxing imported glass, paints, and paper products as a means of raising revenue from the colonies. These taxes created a barrier to the importation of British manufactures that traditionally had been among the most popular colonial imports, and nonimportation strengthened this protection. If Americans were to manufacture the goods Townshend taxed, they could make large profits while seriously disrupting the British system.[42] American manufacturers quickly grasped these possibilities and began constructing new manufactories and heavily promoting existing ones. Their use of patriotic pro-manufacturing rhetoric was more often an effort to capitalize on existing anti-English sentiment than a truly revolutionary attack on the British system. But actions often have unintended consequences; by sinking their capital into risky ventures, whether or not they supported the politics of American economic independence, these men moved the colonies toward economic independence.

The careers of two of the largest and best documented of these projects, the Bonnin and Morris china factory and the Stiegel glass works, illustrate how manufacturers at this time appropriated pro-manufacturing sentiments to their advantage. From the start of their venture, Gousse Bonnin and George Anthony Morris stressed the public utility of establishing the manufacture of fine china in America. Attempting to get a grant for that purpose from the provincial assembly, they noted that the governments of other countries, including Great Britain, had competed to encourage similar projects, but that "*America*, in this general struggle, hath hitherto been unthought of, and it is our peculiar happiness to have been primarily instrumental in bringing her forward." There is also some evidence that Bonnin was the author of an anonymous newspaper article lauding the china manufactory for saving the colonies £15,000 that would otherwise have been sent to England for imported china.[43] Although they gained the patronage of patriots such as Benjamin Franklin and John Dickinson, the proprietors themselves had little interest in contemporary politics.[44]

Henry William Stiegel appealed even more overtly to Philadelphians' patri-

otic pro-manufacturing spirit in promoting his Mannheim Glass Works, located in nearby Lancaster County. Born in Cologne, Germany, Stiegel arrived in Philadelphia in 1750, where he began his career as an iron manufacturer. He had already begun making glass in a small way in 1763, and he may have profited from the nonimportation movement of 1765–66. He was determined to profit from the boycott of British glass during the Townshend crisis by expanding his business and launching a publicity blitz. He appealed to "the patriotic spirit of Americans" and hoped they would "encourage the manufactories of their own country" and order their flint glass from him. The American Philosophical Society endorsed his glass and lauded him as a "public spirited manufacturer" deserving the "particular encouragement of his countrymen." There is, however, no evidence that Stiegel took any other part in revolutionary politics, and he, like Bonnin and Morris, appears to have had the soul of an opportunistic entrepreneur rather than of a radical patriot.[45]

The proprietors of other private manufacturing projects used patriotic rhetoric in similar ways. New York paper manufacturer John Keating promoted his new project as a means of keeping specie in America rather than sending it to England, an argument that showed utter disregard for the British system. Others, such as New York nail maker William Ustick, who was later accused of plotting to deprive the colonists of nails by selling his product to the English, made no pretense of patriotism in their business dealings.[46] Whatever the proprietors' politics, their projects were important way stations on the road to economic independence, and contemporaries knew it. Because of the projects' significance, supporters feared their progress would be blocked by merchants reluctant to support American manufacturing out of fear that it would compete with the goods they would import after the crisis.[47] It was the manufacturing entrepreneurs, however, who suffered when the crisis was resolved and the colonists resumed importing British goods.[48]

Production of American-made goods was also emphasized in the homespun movement that once again accompanied nonimportation. Seniors at Harvard College repeatedly pledged to wear homespun to their graduation ceremonies, despite some opposition from the faculty, who feared such a measure might "inflame the minds of a true and loyal people."[49] The Bay Colony's women and children also began to dedicate much of their time to the patriotic project of making homespun. The ladies, in particular, were urged to free themselves from the tyranny of British fashion. "I am more clear in the enormity of this despotism," wrote a newspaper correspondent, "than of all the revenue laws which America

groans under; so many yards of costly silk as we cut in pieces with the most licentious profusion."[50] Women also turned to homespun in New York and Philadelphia, where their husbands in the Sons of Liberty, the various fire companies, and some mechanical societies, again pledged not to purchase lamb in order to save wool for their wives' spinning wheels.[51]

In 1766 when nonimportation had been dominated by merchants who viewed it as purely instrumental, it quickly ended after the repeal of the Stamp Act. But in the increasingly radical climate of 1770, many people hoped to continue it despite the repeal of the Townshend Duties. In Philadelphia, a newspaper writer argued that it was in America's economic interest to continue nonimportation and encouraging manufacturing: "The Province has, during the non-importation, encreased more in wealth than it ever did, in any equal space of time, since its first settlement. . . . The balance of trade is much in our favor; money flows in apace from every side; and œconomy and frugality, with many useful manufactures, begin to raise their heads amongst us."[52] A New Yorker argued against a proposal to limit nonimportation to those goods that Parliament continued to tax after the Townshend repeal (particularly tea) because "nothing is more obvious that parliament may inhibit our manufacturing any number of articles which they think we cannot refrain importing, and then subject us to such duties as may square with the exigencies of an endless train of hungry placemen, pensioners, and court dependents." Importation of any but the "most necessary" goods would reduce the colonies to "a state of the most abject slavery"[53]

Had members of Parliament paid close attention to this language, they might have realized that colonists were now questioning the legitimacy of the economic empire itself and not just complaining about specific pieces of legislation. The program of limiting importation and encouraging domestic manufacturing could hardly have been more antithetical to the British system. Where only a decade earlier colonists had seen harmony and reciprocal dependence, many now saw "abject slavery" instead.

CHAPTER THREE

Lurching toward Economic Independence

The colonists' attacks on the British system became far more strident in the final crisis following the Intolerable Acts of 1774. As war began to appear inevitable, the developmentalist idiom of economic independence began to dominate discussion of manufacturing projects, and any hopes that those projects might be merely instrumental were fading. Participation in the pro-manufacturing discourse continued to broaden as mechanics took on an ever larger role, particularly in the nonimportation movement. Now, too, the revolutionary provincial and Continental Congresses joined the growing chorus of pro-manufacturing rhetoric. Their support gave American manufacturing new legitimacy within the colonies, even if not in the mother country. Once independence—political and economic—was declared, the pressure of warfare, rather than abstract ideological principles, became the primary factor shaping the putative national economy.

Declaring Economic Independence

Every schoolchild knows that the thirteen colonies declared independence on July 4, 1776. Or did they? Historians have recently become interested in the ninety or so known local "declarations of independence" proclaimed by colonies, counties, towns, and quasipublic societies between April and July of 1776.[1] The authors and supporters of these documents declared independence months before there was a United States. Considering that the first British empire was essentially an economic entity, the process of declaring independence can be traced back still farther. Beginning in 1774 colonies, towns, and private citizens began to hint that their allegiance to the British system was ending. By doing so, they were moving toward economic independence.

Achieving political independence was no simple matter; it took a bloody, seven-year war to make paper pronouncements reality. Attaining economic independence was still more complicated, for longstanding market structures can-

not easily be changed merely by fiat or even through warfare. Furthermore, the quest for economic independence entailed two spheres: the domestic economy and overseas trade. Although these two spheres were intimately related, they provided different challenges for Americans hoping to create an independent, postcolonial economy. Production, either agricultural or manufacturing, was at the heart of the domestic economy. Even before the Revolution, American farmers grew pretty much what they wanted; thus, the only portion of the domestic economy affected by the strictures of the British system was the small manufacturing sector. By instituting new manufacturing projects that often produced goods expressly forbidden by the British system, Americans could move toward domestic economic independence, but the backwardness of the existing manufacturing sector would prevent this independence from being achieved quickly. Time-consuming as it would be to achieve domestic economic independence, America's great distance from England would make it difficult for authorities to prevent the colonials from making the attempt. Such was not the case when it came to overseas trade. The British navy, the world's greatest, could cause a great deal of trouble for American ships involved in illegal commerce. Furthermore, few European powers would be willing to risk British wrath by formally trading with rogue colonies. American manufacturing could help in alleviating commercial dependence on England by replacing some imports with American goods. Thus, domestic economic independence would be a logical and useful first step on the road to complete economic independence.

Without intending to, the "Association" of October 1774 marked the beginning of the colonial movement toward economic independence. The most important act of the new Continental Congress, it echoed earlier instrumentalist attempts to combat the Stamp Act and the Townshend Duties, but unlike these predecessors it was the product of a quasigovernmental body rather than of a network of patriotic committees. Formulated in the wake of the Boston Tea Party and the repressive "intolerable acts," it would be the last and strongest instrumentalist effort at nonimportation. In the Association resolutions the Continental Congress agreed to institute nonimportation, nonexportation, and nonconsumption against Britain in order to "obtain redress of these grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his majesty's subjects in North America" in the most "speedy, effectual, and peaceable" way. The Association also contained several pro-manufacturing measures, which essentially codified earlier popular efforts to preserve sheep for wool and discourage the purchase of opulent foreign mourning dress for funerals.[2]

While the Association was clearly an instrumentalist strategy designed to apply temporary economic coercion against the center of the empire rather than an effort to subvert the British system over the long run, it nonetheless provoked the first tentative declarations of independence from that system. Comparing economic independence to the republican ideal of the independent family, the Massachusetts Congress declared in December 1774 that "[Every] state ought to regulate their internal policy, in such a manner as to furnish themselves, within their own body, with every necessary article for subsistence and defence: Otherwise their political existence will depend upon others, who may take advantage of such weakness, and reduce them to the lowest state of vassallage and slavery." To achieve independence from economic vassalage, the state must "encourage agriculture, manufactures, and œconomy." Specifically, Massachusetts approved eighteen resolves recommending the establishment of various branches of textile and metal manufacture, the making of defense materiel such as weapons and gunpowder, and the formation of a society for "introducing such arts and manufactures as may be useful to this people."[3] In other words, the ancient delineation between American raw materials and English manufactures, the heart of the British system, would no longer apply. Economic cooperation and "reciprocal dependence" was at an end.

The next month the members of Pennsylvania's provincial convention passed a series of similarly worded resolutions. Noting that "the freedom, happiness, and prosperity of a state greatly depend on providing within itself a supply of articles necessary for subsistence, clothing, and defense," it recommended establishing a long list of specific manufactures, most of them centering on the textile and metal industries. In addition, Pennsylvania called for societies to be formed throughout the province in order to offer premiums "to persons who may excel in the several branches of manufactory."[4] Nearly two years later, the Continental Congress would follow Massachusetts's and Pennsylvania's lead by adopting similar resolutions, including one for establishing "in each and every colony a Society for the improvement of agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce."[5]

The revolutionary governments had allies in their attack on the British system. The most ambitious manufacturing project begun in these years, the United Company of Philadelphia for Promoting Manufactures, unabashedly called for economic independence from England. This textile manufactory, also known as the American Manufactory, was founded in 1775 by a group of politically radical merchants, mechanics, and owners of larger traditional manufactories, such

as breweries and distilleries, who viewed their project as an exemplary patriotic effort.[6] Soon they hired several hundred workers, many of them poor women, to spin and weave wool, linen, and cotton using one of the earliest large spinning jennies in America. Unlike most of its predecessors, the American Manufactory actually turned a profit, and shares of its stock appreciated more than 70 percent before the evacuation of Philadelphia put an end to the enterprise in 1777.[7]

In a speech given at the company's founding, the prominent patriot and social reformer, Dr. Benjamin Rush, lauded the manufactory as an "additional barrier against the encroachments of [English] tyranny." "A people who are entirely dependent upon the foreigners for food or clothing must always be subject to them," he declared, echoing the Massachusetts provincial congress in comparing American economic dependence on England to slavery. By establishing manufactories, Americans would break this dependence and at the same time add to the country's prosperity, reverse trade deficits with England, end the corruption associated with European luxuries, and employ the poor.[8] Although Rush repeated some common truisms of English mercantilism—the importance of a positive balance of trade and the role of state-supported manufacturing in both economic development and poor relief—he clearly rejected the colonies' dependent position within the mercantilist British system. The American Manufactory and American manufacturing had now become explicitly radical and even revolutionary.

New Yorkers and Bostonians also began similarly ideological public manufacturing projects during these years. In New York, a group of merchants with the endorsement of the city's revolutionary committee went to work soliciting subscriptions for a project nearly identical to the American Manufactory in 1775. The project was praised by a supporter as a means of producing textiles during the disruption of wartime and keeping the poor employed. He also hinted at the permanent establishment of manufacturing in America, with its "many advantages for carrying on the linen manufactories superior to either Great Britain or Ireland."[9] In the fall of 1774 a Boston town committee on relieving the poor that included Whig politicians Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and William Molineux, as well as several of the former directors of the unsuccessful 1768 linen manufactory project, began work on a wide-ranging program of manufacturing, including a public brickyard, a textile manufactory, and leather outwork, much of which clearly rejected the British system.[10]

Mechanics were vociferous supporters of these measures. As they became more involved in public affairs, they continued to push sometimes-reluctant mer-

chants to institute and abide by nonimportation.[11] Philadelphia's tradesmen—mechanics and small retailers—met separately to urge a uniform policy of nonimportation in each colony to be administered by the Continental Congress.[12] In New York, the mechanics' committee was among the strongest supporters of the Continental Congress's nonimportation plan.[13] In these cities, mechanics' participation in politics ensured and enforced strong agreements. But the approaching war was an even more powerful spur than mechanic pressure. If Americans were to fight England—and this prospect was rapidly becoming a certainty as 1775 dawned—then they would need war materiel, and the best way to procure it was to develop domestic manufactures. For this reason, members of the Continental Congress began considering means of supporting the manufacture of war materiel and, to a lesser extent, of textiles by 1775. In this way the movements for political independence and for economic independence were merging. Whereas political independence would be gained relatively quickly, economic independence would not be assured until much later. Americans, and particularly the newly energized mechanics, would have to continue to pursue their vision long after the military struggle had been won.

The Political Economy of Independence

Just as the political Declaration of Independence would create the need for new constitutions to define the political form of the United States, so too would these early renunciations of the British system prompt Americans to begin constructing a new economic framework. Renouncing the British system was by no means tantamount to renouncing mercantilism; indeed, few Americans would go so far as to demand that government keep its hands off either the domestic or the overseas economy. Even those who supported free trade in theory realized that the exigencies of war would force the revolutionary governments to take a strong economic role, in both promoting domestic production and regulating international trade, at least until the war was won and political independence secured. The question was, what exactly should this role be?

Perhaps the most significant congressional debate touching on this question occurred in October 1775, one year after Massachusetts and Pennsylvania had pledged to develop a domestic economy independent of the British system. The debate was a direct consequence of the Association of 1774, which included a delayed nonexportation clause to be implemented in September of 1775. No doubt many delegates in 1774 expected that the measure would never need to be im-

plemented, that the king and Parliament would quickly back down just as they had so many times before when faced with colonial economic pressure. But by the fall of 1775 it was clear that nobody would blink in this standoff, and Congress must therefore consider whether and how to implement nonexportation.

Part of Congress's problem was the issue of independence. Whereas some state governments moved to repudiate the British system, the Association had taken a much less radical bent, and delegates could still legitimately portray it as an instrumentalist tool similar to earlier nonimportation efforts. As long as they could reasonably hope for reconciliation with England, the delegates could also tout nonexportation as an instrument to that end. However, after Lexington and Concord the dream of reconciliation was quickly fading. Nonexportation and nonimportation could easily backfire on the revolutionaries by cutting them off from the rest of the world at a time when they might need to export American goods in order to import much-needed war materiel. This dilemma prompted Robert Livingston to exclaim, "We are between hawk and buzzard; we puzzle ourselves between the commercial and warlike opposition."[14] By clinging to the hope that commercial coercion would lead to reconciliation, Congress might doom any future military effort by cutting off access to needed imports.

The ramifications of nonexportation went still farther, reaching deep into the economic future of the almost-former colonies. The debate hinged on the question of how free American foreign trade should be. Even if Congress refused to export to Great Britain, it was unclear what sort of policy it should adopt to regulate trade with other nations. In an earlier discussion of potential articles of confederation, both Benjamin Franklin and Richard Henry Lee had suggested that the colonies shut down the British customs houses and open their trade to all of Europe. Now John Adams and George Wythe called for free trade with Europe and the non-British West Indies alongside of nonexportation to Britain.[15] This position raised all sorts of new problems. For one thing, it seemed extremely impractical. As long as the United States lacked a navy, England could pretty much do as it liked with any American ships; thus, at the least, free trade could only be carried on with the assistance of stronger foreign powers. As John Zubly of Georgia noted, French and Spanish vessels would be very reluctant to violate British law by coming to American harbors so long as the Americans remained part of the empire.

Zubly's observation pointed toward the biggest problem with free trade propositions: They would only hasten the final break with Britain, the very event that nonexportation was supposed to forestall. As Samuel Chase remarked,

"When you once offer your trade to foreign nations, away with all hopes of reconciliation."[16] The Americans knew well that proposing free trade would anger Britain even more than encouraging domestic manufacturing had. In last ditch peace negotiations with Lord Drummond, the colonists would press for several economic concessions, including the right to manufacture products from their own raw materials, in return for which they pledged to continue to obey the Acts of Trade.[17] The colonists thus indicated awareness that opening their ports in violation of the navigation acts would destroy the British system; though they might hope to convince the king and Parliament to allow some colonial manufacturing, much as Ireland and Scotland had done earlier, unfettered overseas trade was strictly anathema. Not only would it be an extremely visible violation of British authority, clear to anybody trading in the Atlantic world, but, according to mercantilist logic, it would also aid Britain's competitors by giving them the transport of goods produced in the empire. Nonetheless, Adams, in particular, frequently pressed for free trade in the months before independence, and by winter Congress was already tentatively moving toward establishing trade with France. Only after the break with England would Congress truly be able to consider opening trade farther; shortly after declaring independence, Adams, Wythe, Lee, and others revisited this issue with a "Model Treaty" resolution proposing "a free trade . . . with all nations."[18]

Thus, in the fall of 1775 opening American trade with foreigners was political dynamite, and for the time being Congress understandably rejected such a radical break with the past. Instead, Congress decided to go ahead with nonexportation with one important exception: Importers of military stores would be able to export goods in trade.[19] With this policy the delegates hoped to accomplish three goals: (1) to pressure England for reconciliation, (2) to avoid complete subversion of the British system (nonexportation was better than free trade), and (3) to allow merchants to import war materiel so that the colonies would be prepared in the event of prolonged military conflict. By taking such measures Congress was in effect asserting its ability to regulate American trade, a course made far trickier by their continued reluctance to break with Britain economically or politically.

At the other extreme from the free-traders, some delegates strongly supported a firm nonexportation on the grounds that it would benefit America by stimulating the domestic economy. Samuel Chase argued, "We can do without trade; this country produces all the necessities, many of the conveniences, and some of the superfluities of life." Reacting against arguments for opening America's

trade, Richard Henry Lee scolded his colleagues, "When you hoist out a glimmering of hope that people are to be furnished from abroad, you give a check to our own manufactures."[20] Neither Chase nor Lee was calling for a long-term commitment to domestic production, but once again the conflict with the mother country was pushing all sorts of Americans toward considering that alternative, if only as a short-term measure.

Once independence had been declared and civil insurrection transformed into Revolution, the issue of domestic production became still more crucial to the American governments. In order to pursue war it was crucial to have access to manufactures, and the surest way to maintain access when fighting the world's greatest navy was to manufacture at home. Even supporters of free trade could not afford to take the position of laissez-faire on this issue. John Adams, that consistent foe of trade restrictions, was one of the leading figures pushing for government support of manufactures. In the spring of 1776 he drafted a resolution calling for a Congressional committee to coordinate manufacturing in the states. He also urged the revolutionary governments to encourage cloth manufacturing and to form societies "for the encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce," a sentiment Congress quickly adopted as a resolution.[21] Support for free trade hardly presupposed a classical liberal anathema to economic regulation in the domestic sphere.

As the colonies moved closer to war, Congress continued to encourage a broad range of manufactures, most importantly war materiel. Modern myths to the contrary, colonial Americans were not particularly well-armed. Therefore, one of Congress's first priorities was to produce a good supply of weapons. As early as November 1775 Congress recommended that the provincial assemblies "set and keep their gunsmiths at work, to manufacture good fire locks, with bayonets," and by February they created a Congressional committee to "consider of further ways and means of promoting and encouraging the manufacture of fire arms in all parts of the United Colonies." Congress even deliberated (but ultimately rejected) commissioning a former French artillery captain as a lieutenant colonel to induce him to assist in gun manufacturing in America.[22]

Guns were not enough, however. They were useless without gunpowder, which became a pressing concern in 1775. Congress, naturally, could not rely on a free market for this necessity, so in June they created a "committee to devise ways and means to introduce the manufacture of salt petre in these colonies." Members of this committee worked mightily over the next year to promote domestic manufacture of saltpeter, a crucial component of gunpowder. Although

Congress had no real direct power over the states, they urged the state governments to build public saltpeter works and gunpowder mills and to encourage families to make saltpeter at home. As the war progressed, Congress also urged the states to appoint gunpowder inspectors in order to insure high quality production.[23] Delegate Robert Treat Paine in particular served as a liaison between Congress and the states, tirelessly disseminating technical information on saltpeter and gunpowder making throughout the continent.[24] On a smaller scale, Congress also promoted the manufacture of gun flints and ammunition within the states.[25]

Congress remained involved in the domestic economy in other ways, too. It urged the states to manufacture items such as leather shoes and breeches, textiles, and sailcloth, all of which were necessary for the war effort.[26] In addition, it recommended that the states offer military exemptions to manufacturers in order to insure adequate labor power for producing war materiel.[27] Finally, it occasionally granted nonexportation exemptions to merchants wishing to trade American goods for needed foreign produce.[28]

Congress could make recommendations to the states, but it had little power to enforce them. Thus, the state governments were crucial in the effort to stimulate the war economy. As is well known, due to political gridlock in Congress, the states took the leading role in regulating foreign trade up until the implementation of the federal Constitution in 1789. They were also quite active in attempting to encourage manufacturing. State governments from South Carolina to New England did their best to encourage iron making. Both North and South Carolina offered hefty premiums to manufacturers of iron, steel, nails, metal cotton cards, and similar items. Pennsylvania offered bounties for saltpeter manufacturers. Several governments created state gun factories, while others offered financial inducements to private armaments makers. The Massachusetts constitution of 1780 stipulated that the state establish "rewards and immunities for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, [and] manufactures."[29]

All of this government activity—nonexportation, nonimportation, manufacturing societies, state manufactories, premiums, and so forth—was a boon to many manufacturers. Another category of state activity, wage and price regulations, had a more ambiguous impact. Congress's endorsement of such regulations reached back to Article 13 of the 1774 Association, which stipulated that "all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods."[30] Clearly, Congress was concerned that by cutting off trade with England it would leave the American people

in the clutches of greedy domestic manufacturers who would take advantage of the absence of foreign competition to raise their prices to unconscionable levels. Government intervention was necessary to protect the citizens. Such concerns resonated with long-held fears of monopolies and forestalling that were antithetical to more liberal approaches to trade, and many free-traders, including John Adams were deeply disturbed by them.[31] Once again, however, the exigencies of war pushed the states toward greater involvement in the economy. The New England and mid-Atlantic states held a series of conventions to coordinate price and wage regulations between 1776 and 1779; these had mixed results. While the states west of the Hudson had little success in implementing these measures, the New Englanders did pass into law a series of measures that frequently included very detailed wage scales for artisans. Rhode Island, to cite the best-known example, went so far as to set specific wage limits for ship carpenters, masons, caulkers, hat makers, and others.[32]

The mechanics' reaction to these measures was mixed. Even before independence, Boston's leather dressers pledged to hold prices down. At a meeting in May 1774 they agreed "not to ask more than one pistareen per pound for their best carding wool," a guarantee that they reiterated in the newspapers of January 1775. No doubt they took this very public means of guaranteeing low prices in order to head off governmental price fixing. In 1777 Bostonians condemned "regulating acts," including both trade restrictions and price fixing, in a public meeting characterized by frequent use of the language of free trade. Mechanics must have been uneasy at the meeting's conclusion that "a plentiful import" of foreign made manufactures would lower prices. Two years later, as inflation and wartime disruptions relentlessly drove up prices, Bostonians proposed new price-fixing measures aimed explicitly at the town's "tradesmen and laborers," admonishing them not to raise prices and warning that they would have to adjust their prices downward when the price of provisions was lowered. Two months later the town made good on this threat, asking mechanics to reduce their labor rates by 10 to 20 percent at the same time that the price of many other goods was dropped 20 percent.[33]

This set of regulations proved too restrictive for some Boston mechanics. In defiance of the town's regulations, hat maker Sarson Belcher sold a beaver hat for £48, £10 above the limit set by the resolves. The committee appointed to enforce the regulations quickly denounced him as an enemy to his country, enjoining townspeople not to "trade or hold any intercourse or conversation" with the miscreant. The aspersions on his patriotism were surely unfair; Belcher was

a leader in the Sons of Liberty who had served on Boston's correspondence, inspection, and safety committees. Belcher defended himself by claiming that while he followed the spirit of the price regulations by reducing his prices by 20 percent, the £38 price limit was so low that he simply could not afford to sell hats at that price. Twenty of his fellow hatters publicly supported him, with only four backing down when the committee threatened to denounce them, too. This incident and a few other similar ones suggest that price and wage regulations sorely tested the mechanics' patriotism. Nevertheless, as the later behavior of Belcher and his fellows would show, the mechanics would never renounce all forms of state involvement in the economy.[34]

In other cases, mechanics reacted more favorably to price regulation. Philadelphia's laboring people certainly supported some action in 1779, when inflation had driven up the prices of provisions, making it difficult for poorer families to put bread on the table. Many Philadelphians believed that greedy merchants "monopolized" goods in order to push prices even higher. In the British system, when provisions became too expensive mechanics traditionally had the privilege of petitioning authorities for relief. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that newly independent Philadelphians, including many working people, elected a Committee of Trade charged with regulating prices to provide relief to the city's poor. When merchants refused to comply with the committee's directives, Philadelphia radicals mobbed the house of James Wilson, a notorious free-trader and patriotic merchant, in an event later to be known as the Fort Wilson Riot. Even in this case, some mechanics resisted price regulations, including a vocal group of cordwainers, tanners, and curriers.[35] In general, when price regulations kept the cost of provisions and supplies down, mechanics tended to support them, but their support evaporated when regulation threatened their livelihood by steeply reducing the price of their own finished goods.

Although the American Revolution may have led some free-traders to hope for a rejection of the British system in favor of something approaching laissez-faire, the reality was far less revolutionary. Americans continued to expect government to play a strong role in structuring their economic system. Rather than prompting Americans to cast off this old way of thinking as too British, the Revolution reinforced it. The exigencies of war made government regulation of the economy crucial. Americans may have fought to free themselves from their subservient position in the British system, but the war did not lead them to reject its underlying principles.

The Ambiguous Revolutionary Legacy

War can transform economies. The Seven Years' War nearly bankrupted both England and France. Some historians argue that the American Civil War made the United States an industrial colossus. World War II ended the Great Depression. Despite the governments' best efforts, the effects of the Revolution were less clear cut. It created a serious economic downturn at the same time that, by ripping America from the British system, it created the potential for new and expanded trade. It also created the potential for increased domestic manufacturing by empowering mechanics, limiting imports, and ending British mercantilistic prohibitions. In the short run, this manufacturing potential remained unrealized. Although the war spurred some new projects, it simultaneously worked to limit the expansion of the manufacturing sector.

The products most immediately affected were war materiel and related goods. As war began to appear inevitable in 1775, the Continental Congress launched an all-out drive to stimulate gunpowder making. Its main focus was on manufacturing adequate quantities of saltpeter. By January 1776 these efforts began to bear fruit as 50 tons of saltpeter poured into Philadelphia and many more tons to New York. While some new mills aided in this production, the bulk of the saltpeter appears to have been produced by farm families encouraged by government bounties and instructed by the many "how to" articles printed in newspapers and other publications.[36] By the spring of 1776 Richard Henry Lee could write, "I incline to believe that bounties to encourage the making [of saltpeter] in private families will more certainly produce it in lager quantities than any other plan" while adding that Massachusetts alone expected family manufactures to produce 100 tons by summer.[37] Gun manufacturing, both in state and private establishments, also boomed. Shortly before independence, Robert Morris wrote, "Arms we are most in want of, but our manufactories of them improve and increase daily." Nonetheless, progress was far from unimpeded, and the North Carolina Council of Safety continued to have difficulty procuring armaments well into fall. Thanks to government bounties and the demand for artillery, several new iron furnaces also quickly emerged, although not all of them proved successful.[38]

Outside of war materiel production, the progress of American manufacturing varied widely during the war. Certain products and processes such as paper, textiles, shipbuilding, and flour milling flourished from time to time and place to

place. But the geographical variations were very broad. New York City appears to have had virtually no manufacturing growth after 1775, due no doubt to the long period of British occupation. Boston experienced some growth, particularly toward the end of the war when nearby industries such as a paper mill, a cannon foundry, and a glassworks were particularly active.[39] Overall, the impact of new manufacturing projects in these two cities was far less than during the prewar period of nonimportation.

By contrast, Philadelphia did experience a manufacturing boom of sorts in the early war years. As many of the nonimportation-era projects disappeared they were replaced by new efforts, literally so in the case of Bonnin and Morris's failed china manufactory, which was converted into an iron foundry by an expatriated New Yorker. In addition to making armaments, Philadelphians were busily establishing and improving textile manufactories in 1775 and 1776. Besides the well-known American Manufactory, the city also saw new manufactories of woolens, cotton, and linen in the first years of the war.[40] By the winter of 1776 Robert Morris feared the loss of Philadelphia "would be the most fatal blow that America could receive as our artificers and manufacturers have proved a constant magazine of necesaries for the army, navy, and all the other states."[41]

The growth of Baltimore was perhaps even more impressive. During the war it blossomed from a sleepy secondary port into Maryland's metropolis and a leading manufacturing center. While few Baltimoreans built large-scale manufactories, traditional crafts, especially those related to shipbuilding, developed astoundingly quickly. When Lord Dunmore burned Norfolk in 1776, Baltimore's more inland location in the upper Chesapeake Bay ensured its destiny as a shipbuilding center. The population of Fells Point, the city's maritime quarter, nearly doubled as a whole corps of mechanics from ship carpenters to sailmakers to riggers migrated to the shores of the Patapsco River.[42] Baltimore, perhaps more than any other contemporary American city, was shaped by war.

Although aspects of the Revolution stimulated manufacturing, the war also served to limit expansion and change. Because the war was fought almost entirely in the United States and along the coastline, it badly disrupted the American economy. The nonimportation and nonexportation resolves created the potential for a broader domestic market for American manufactures, but they also made it extremely difficult for Americans to procure the raw materials and European technology needed to manufacture their own products. The British naval blockade proved effective in hindering America's overseas trade.[43] Perhaps even

more ominously, all three of the nation's largest cities were evacuated for a period of time, more than seven years in the case of New York. All of these disruptions tended to inhibit investment in major new manufacturing projects.

Difficulty in procuring capital was an even more important factor limiting the rise of Revolutionary manufacturing. Inflation did not help; while it raised the price of finished products, it also increased the investment needed in raw and semifinished materials. A bigger problem was the indifference toward manufacturing by the only group with the capital to pursue it on an expanded basis, the merchants. Throughout the war they focused on trade and procurement rather than domestic production. As the war checked international commerce it also created very lucrative opportunities for those merchants able to open avenues of trade to the West Indies and Europe. As a result, many small players were able to become big fish during the war (and some big fish were swallowed up by others).[44] Many merchants also busied themselves in the work of procuring domestic products for the armed forces to consume. There is no evidence that these individuals did much to create new manufacturing ventures during the war. Rather, they acted as middlemen, gathering products from farm families, small producers, and millers and selling them to the government. In the short run, they may have broadened the web of American manufacturing, but they did little to create large-scale permanent projects. In the long run, however, this difficult war work may have alerted some of them to the shortcomings of domestic production and prompted them to consider manufacturing's profit potential. Several of these merchants, including Philadelphia's Mease and Caldwell families and John R. Livingston of New York, invested in and promoted manufacturing after the war.[45]

Another obstacle to establishing large manufacturing projects during the war was the scarcity of labor. Skilled workers were hard to find for several reasons. First, because the existing manufacturing base was so small, relatively few Americans had the needed skills. This was particularly true in areas away from the largest cities. For example, when North Carolina's revolutionary government attempted to set up iron works in their state, they had enormous difficulty finding workers, despite the fact that they offered generous bounties to anyone who produced good iron and even sent a labor agent to Philadelphia to convince workers to move south. The agent reported back that "such is the demand for workmen in every branch of the iron manufactory and the wages so very extravagantly high that men who have any pretensions to skill in the business cannot be prevailed upon to leave home."[46]

Second, even those workers who were well trained did not necessarily have the right training, nor did they always see manufacturing as their best option. George Robert Twelves Hewes, Boston's most famous shoemaker, provides an illuminating example. Despite the fact that soldiers need shoes, Hewes was less interested in pursuing shoemaking during the war than in fighting. After Bunker Hill, he left his tools behind in British-occupied Boston and enlisted on a privateering ship in Providence. His actions made economic as well as patriotic sense; to men lucky enough to sail on successful cruises, privateering offered potential profits well beyond what a poor shoemaker could normally expect to see.[47] Other less scrupulous mechanics might seek to make their fortunes through financial speculation rather than hard work. As a Baltimorean observed of the local craftsmen, "Every Ragmuffin we see has a stomach for one hundred thousand pounds, which they flatter themselves they must and will make by speculating, forestalling, engrossing, and robbing their country." Thus, while the war produced a need for skilled labor, not all mechanics, even those with proper training, were interested in following their usual trades during this time of upheaval.

All of these factors—wartime disruptions, lack of capital, and shortages of labor—pushed the United States toward what has sometimes been called a "kauf system" of production. Rather than depending on large, merchant-capitalized manufactories, this flexible system relied primarily on independent farm families for production. Women and children could manufacture clothing and other products at home when time permitted, and either merchants or the state government would purchase the finished goods to distribute them where they were needed. These farm families succeeded so well that large manufactories seemed less appealing to potential investors. For example, when Joseph Hewes of North Carolina considered investing in a linen manufactory, he was dissuaded by a Philadelphia factory manager who informed him "that small manufactories set up by private persons in their own families would be much more profitable both to the adventurers and to the community in general than large ones established by the public or by companies."[48] Thus, family manufacturing may have inhibited the rise of innovative, large-scale manufacturing projects. Whatever the causes, the war did not prove much of a business opportunity for many urban mechanics who continued to ply their trades. As a Baltimore cooper wrote, "Verey few mechanicks made mutch by their busness." After the war, however, he observed, "The prospect seems to change and a door to all appearance opened for an extensive trade."[49]

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Part II / The Critical Period

In the 1780s and early 1790s manufacturing promoters were arguably more influential than they ever had been or would be. In those fallow times immediately following the war, Americans had little obvious economic incentive to turn to manufacturing. With severe inflation and an excess of British goods already glutting the market, these years hardly seemed the most opportune time for Americans to lay down their plowshares to become manufacturers. It was at this point that patriotic pride in independence, a less economically rational concern, captivated a broad portion of the public, spread enthusiasm about the potential for the new economy, and gave rise to new voluntary associations that promoted domestic production. Chapters 4 through 6 describe these societies, their ideas, and their rhetoric.

These years have rarely been explored by historians of industrialization, in part because there was very little factory construction but also because so little statistical information on national production was recorded. The few existing sources strongly suggest, however, that manufacturing of all sorts expanded rapidly in the 1780s. Most impressive was the growth of establishments using traditional manufacturing processes; these were often launched by urban mechanics and entrepreneurs. Tanning, brewing, sugar refining, rope making, shoemaking, and tobacco manufacturing were among the most prominent pursuits. Such projects offered the prospect of success because they made use of the new nation's rich agricultural resources. In Baltimore alone, 1787–88 saw the construction of new factories producing nails, wool and cotton cards, soap and candles, mill stones, and shoes and boots, as well as the enlargement of an existing tobacco manufactory. By 1797 Philadelphia boasted of four nail factories, thirteen breweries, six sugar refineries, and eleven brush manufactories.[1] The emphasis on processing agricultural products can also be seen in tariff schedules of the 1780s, in which products such as refined sugar, manufactured tobacco, beer, cordage, and leather goods were prominent. Urban mechanics had long been involved in making these sorts of products, and the tariffs of the 1780s reflected their hope that the new nation would offer these pursuits more protection.

Probably the most well known new-style manufacturer of the period is Samuel Slater, America's most famous industrial defector. Armed only with his knowledge of manufacturing technology this English mechanic disguised himself as a common farmer in order to escape the scrutiny of British officials and bring valuable technology to the New World. In doing so he not only spread industry throughout Rhode Island and beyond but also made himself a rich man. Yet Slater's role can be overemphasized. Before he arrived, the group of merchant-manufacturers described in chapter 4 was already demonstrating the potential profitability of new-style textile manufacturing. Some initial successes at cutting edge enterprises such as the Beverly Cotton Factory and the Boston Sail Cloth Manufactory further reinforced this promise. When Slater reached Providence in 1790, Rhode Island's metropolis was already on its way to becoming an important new-style textile manufacturing center, home to five small manufactories producing nearly $5,000 in cotton goods annually. The projects he began there with Moses Brown assured Providence a position of prominence.[2]

Despite all this activity most of the early manufacturing projects quickly failed. John Nicholson's Philadelphia stocking and cotton factory offers a good example. Nicholson envisioned a grand factory town along the falls of the Schuylkill River. In addition to the textile mill, he planned an iron works, a button manufactory, and a glass house. After several years of high aspirations and depressing failures, Nicholson attempted to convert the textile factory to steam power, but by 1797 the project went bankrupt and the sheriff arrived to repossess the steam engines.[3] At about the same time, James Davenport refitted Philadelphia's old Globe Mills chocolate and mustard manufactory into the first water-powered spinning mill in the new nation. Young boys performed most of the labor, spinning flax and hemp and weaving sailcloth on water-powered machinery. The mill also produced stockings on newly imported English frames. Davenport received good publicity when President Washington inspected his new machinery in 1797, but he died soon after. His business was broken up and sold off by the spring of 1798.[4]

The foregoing discussion suggests that the most innovative late-eighteenth-century manufacturers were working in the seaport cities. American cities attracted innovation in part because they attracted European immigrants. A disproportionate number of the late-eighteenth-century projects either were begun by immigrants or employed European mechanics as technical advisers. Samuel Slater, who immigrated from Derbyshire to New York City before heading to Providence, was the most famous and successful, but he was far from alone. To-

ward the end of the Revolution an "affable, instructive, and entertaining" Englishman named Edmund Clegg arrived in Philadelphia planning to establish new cotton and silk manufactories. In 1784 "after struggling with many and superior difficulties," he was on the brink of succeeding when a sudden illness killed him, putting a sad end to his ambitious project. Other immigrants followed, including several European calico printers, English stocking manufacturers hired by the Globe Mills, German button makers, English potters, Scottish type founders, and several English mechanics hired by John Nicholson.[5] A German manufacturer named John Amelung, accompanied by sixty-eight workers, came to Baltimore in 1784 expecting that the newly independent state government "would encourage and assist to their utmost" his plans for an extensive glass manufactory. In that same year he was joined in Baltimore by Irish watchmakers and English sugar refiners. New York attracted an English perfume manufacturer, a European earthenware maker, a piano manufacturer from London, and a type founder who had worked in Holland and England.[6] Cities also benefited from being a point of arrival for European workmen, particularly German and Irish servants, many of whom had some manufacturing skills. In 1784, seven ships carrying a total of at least one thousand Irish servants landed in Baltimore. Many others arrived in Philadelphia, including carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, nailers, founders, brickmakers, and tobacconists. Seven years later they continued to arrive, more than 4,500 in 1791 alone.[7]

As the cities became cutting edge manufacturing centers, traditional household manufacturing increased rapidly in the countryside. In a 1790 report to Alexander Hamilton, Nathaniel Gorham estimated that New England farm families manufactured twice as much as they had in 1770. Concerned about the increase in American manufacturing, the British consul at Philadelphia, Phineas Bond, made a similar report in 1789, noting that New England home textile manufactures had greatly expanded and that farmers in the middle states were making crude woolen goods.[8] So while increases in volume and technological innovation propelled urban manufacturing into the limelight between the Revolution and 1795, most manufactured goods were still produced by farm families using traditional methods.

How did pro-manufacturing rhetoric affect these developments? After the war, committees of pro-manufacturing urban mechanics were the most important force behind the passage of state and federal tariffs, which in turn created publicity and market incentives that further encouraged domestic manufacturing. Additionally, the European expertise needed for new technologies appears

to have been attracted by pro-manufacturing publicity as much as pure profit calculation. Samuel Slater became interested in emigrating to America after reading a newspaper advertisement offering a reward of £100 to anyone able to build cutting-edge textile machinery in the United States. A Philadelphia promotional society placed the advertisement, and on first arriving in New York City, Slater worked for a similar organization there. Similarly John Amelung, the German glass manufacturer, came to Baltimore because a local booster convinced him that the state of Maryland would give assistance to his project. It appears to have been official policy during Alexander Hamilton's tenure as Treasury secretary to publicize America's manufacturing potential abroad in order to attract skilled European workers.[9] It is safe to conclude that had the friends of American manufacturing not been so active in publicizing their cause, far fewer skilled workers would have thought to emigrate to the new republic. Perhaps the best conclusion is that pro-manufacturing rhetoric alerted potential workers and investors to existing economic possibilities. In the new nation, therefore, rhetoric and market incentives joined to launch the expansion of manufacturing.

The material gains made by manufacturers were relatively short-lived. As American merchants began to reap substantial profits selling wheat and other agricultural staples while acting as neutral carriers during the Napoleonic wars, the long-term prospects for manufacturing became less attractive than the short-term gains commerce and agriculture offered. But the rhetoric did have a long-term impact. It shaped the way Americans thought about manufacturing for years to come. The early manufacturing promoters were able to convince a substantial segment of the population, especially in the cities, that manufacturing was in the interest of the new nation and that it could provide important economic gains. Because manufacturing encompassed so many different sorts of pursuits, Americans interpreted the term broadly, and people from all social levels, from poor mechanics to rich merchants, took part in the pro-manufacturing chorus. The voices of the poorer mechanics would begin to be drowned out by those of an emerging group of merchant-manufacturers before the entire chorus broke off in the mid-1790s. After that, pro-manufacturing rhetoric temporarily disappeared from the American public sphere. It was not, however, entirely forgotten, and in 1807, during the economic downturn caused by the crisis in overseas commerce, Americans would turn to it once again.

CHAPTER FOUR

Mechanic Protectionism

The Revolution did not instantly transform the American economy, but it did create one obvious change: The United States no longer belonged to the British empire. Although this development created some anxiety for merchants whose trade networks were closely linked to the British world, it also provided new opportunities for those interested in domestic manufacturing. Without the mercantile prohibitions against making and selling finished goods, Americans were now free to produce whatever sort of items they wished. The postwar economic situation, however, was hardly conducive to manufacturing, not so long as cheap British goods continued to flood the American market. Thus, for those concerned with developing domestic manufacturing, the Treaty of Paris did not mark the end of the war with England, it merely marked the end of the fighting. The new battle was a struggle for economic independence waged against the importation of British goods. The urban mechanics, energized by their role in the Revolution, were the vanguard. They continued to coordinate their activities through national networks built on the connections made by the Sons of Liberty, and they continued to work together locally and nationally in a spirit of mutuality and cooperation. Their chief weapon continued to be patriotic rhetoric stressing the need to develop American manufacturing.[1] With political independence achieved, however, they began to fashion a more coherent political-economic vision of national self-sufficiency through laying protective duties, integrating regional production, and balancing the three great economic sectors of agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing. The specifics of this program were new, but its ideological roots tapped back into the mercantilistic British system.

Mathew Carey: Career of a Protectionist Mechanic

As a group the mechanic protectionists made a deep impact on early American history, but as individuals they flit in and out of the historical record, making it very difficult to follow the entire career, much less the intellectual development, of any one of them. Mathew Carey, one of the new nation's most

influential printers, was an important exception. His words, both private and printed, are readily accessible and offer insight into the thinking of a mechanic who was sometimes typical and always influential. Carey's positions—his neomercantilistic protectionism, his Anglophobic economic nationalism, and his belief in a harmony of interests—were broadly representative of mechanic protectionism. Carey himself, however, was not entirely representative. The articulateness that allows us access into his world view set him apart from most of his fellows, who were too busy struggling to get along to think very systematically about political economy. As a printer his very livelihood, unlike that of most other mechanics, depended on formulating and disseminating opinions. Still, his story offers insight into the connection between the mechanic experience and protectionism, and his influence in the pro-manufacturing movement makes him an important figure to understand.

Like many American mechanics, Carey was an immigrant. Born the son of a prosperous Catholic Dublin baker in 1760, he had to sneak out of Ireland at the age of nineteen when authorities discovered he had written a fiery pamphlet urging the repeal of the anti-Catholic penal codes.[2] The young printer fled to Paris where he found a patron in Benjamin Franklin, who no doubt approved of his rhetorical attacks against England. Carey had professed admiration for the United States even before meeting Franklin, but it is likely that he became more aware of American politics in Paris.[3] Perhaps, too, it was here that he began to think about the efficacy of economic weapons against the British system.

Carey returned home to begin publishing his own newspaper, the *Volunteers' Journal*, which took a consistently anti-English, protectionist stance during its stormy year-long existence. An article in the very first issue linked the development of Irish manufacturing to the "spirit of patriotism," and the paper continued to connect economic independence to Irish patriotism until its demise.[4] Ultimately, it was Carey's sympathy with this cause that led to his permanent exile. The fateful April 5, 1784, issue of his newspaper told the subversive fictional story of "an innumerable body of starving manufacturers" who dragged "the arch traytor Jacky Finance," a mocking nickname for Chancellor of the Exchequer John Foster, to the gallows.[5] Foster was the bête noir of Dublin's mechanics due to his opposition to a measure in the Irish parliament calling for protective duties on English cloth to aid Irish textile manufacturing.[6] Much as their American counterparts had during the Revolution, Dublin's mechanics wanted to protect their own manufactures despite the strictures of the British system. Foster's opposition to protecting Irish textiles, the *Volunteers' Journal* optimistically re-

ported, was prompting some members of the Irish parliament to consider a break with England, to "make a final appeal to the great body of the people, and secede from that Gomorrah of Iniquity." By describing Foster's fictional lynching in this charged atmosphere, Carey must have realized he was inciting Dubliners to violence.

The threat of violence and the parallels to the American nonimportation and independence movements no doubt contributed to the rapid government reaction. That very day the Irish House of Commons charged the *Volunteers' Journal* with printing "daring, false, scandalous and seditious libel" of Parliament, prompting "discontents among his majesty's subjects," creating groundless jealousies between Ireland and Britain, alienating "the affections of the people from his Majesty's government," and exciting an "opposition to the laws of the land." By tying national patriotism to domestic manufacturing, Carey had discovered a powerful formula for rallying mechanics to favor protectionism, a formula that he and others would continue to follow in the United States. He had also written himself into a very dangerous position.

Carey had no choice but to leave Ireland again or face certain imprisonment. This time he decided to flee to the hometown of his former mentor, Benjamin Franklin.[7] Once in America, Carey continued in his anti-British economic nationalism, even as he transferred his allegiance from Ireland to the United States. Thanks to the patronage of the Marquis de Lafayette, whom Carey had met in Paris, he was able to become publisher of the *Pennsylvania Herald*, a job that plunged him deeply into American politics. In this newspaper he quickly began to argue that Americans must abandon their "unhappy predilection for foreign frippery and gewgaws" and begin to produce their own manufactures. His great confidence in his adopted homeland's economic potential soon led him to support the federal constitution, which he believed would stimulate the growth of agriculture and manufacturing and which, he wrote his family in Ireland, would soon cause money to "flow in upon this country from almost every part of the universe in which she has any trade." Like most mechanics of his generation, one of his cherished hopes for the Constitution was that it would protect Americans from foreign luxuries, thereby stemming the drain of cash from America to Europe and protecting native manufactures.[8]

Despite his understandable hostility to England, unlike many twentieth-century protectionists Carey could hardly be considered a nativist. As an Irish Catholic he could not easily afford to oppose immigration. More importantly, at this stage in America's economic development immigrant mechanics were more

Mathew Carey holds a copy of the infamous April 5, 1784, issue of the *Volunteers' Journal*, which led to his self-exile from Ireland. Courtesy of the Harris Collection, John Hay Library, Brown University.

likely to be welcomed than reviled. Due to the dearth of manufacturing before the Revolution and efforts to encourage it during and after, skilled European immigrants flooded into America in the 1780s, many of them, like Carey, from Ireland. Carey himself attempted to acculturate these immigrants to their new home and to attract others to follow them. In a promotional pamphlet published in 1790 and aimed at potential immigrants, Carey wrote that "during the connexion of this country with Great Britain, we were taught to believe that agriculture and commerce should be the only pursuits of Americans, but experiments and reflexion have taught us that our country abounds with resources for manufactures of all kinds." While America was already "nearly independent of the whole world" in some branches of manufacturing, European capital and labor were still needed for many others.[9] Thus, protectionism and neomercantilism prompted Carey to seek out more immigrants to help build the new economy.

Carey not only reflected the broad currents of mechanic protectionism, but he also shaped them through his writings, which, unlike the works of scholars like Adam Smith, were widely accessible to the mechanic population through newspapers and magazines they might purchase themselves or read for free in urban coffeehouses. As was the case with many less-educated and less-articulate mechanics, his economic ideology was rooted in a neomercantilistic framework, a basis that appears to have been less reliant on abstract theory than on his own observation of the depression of the 1780s. This catastrophe, Carey later wrote, occurred despite that "the trade of America was almost absolutely free and unrestrained in the fullest sense of the word, according to the theory of Adam Smith, Say, Ricardo, the Edinburgh Reviewers, and the authors of the Encyclopedia."[10] Carey's belief in the central role of government in alleviating economic recession is evident in a letter written to his cousin, Rev. James Carey in 1791, in which he expressed support for a strengthened federal government in the economic sphere, because "in the promotion of national misery or happiness, governments are omnipotent."[11]

Carey publicized his message most widely in his *American Museum* (1787–92), now recognized as the new nation's first national magazine. The *Museum* caused Carey immense financial anxiety, but it also proved to be one of the most influential nationalistic pro-Constitution journals in the country. Nearly every issue offered readers at least one article advocating nationalistic political economy, and many offered several. For example, the August 1787 issue contained a long article by Hugh Williamson of North Carolina on various economic matters, in-

cluding the need to encourage manufactures. Carey also reprinted in this issue the pledge of a group of North Carolina ladies to refrain from "luxuries"; a series of resolutions from Massachusetts, Virginia, and Pennsylvania to refrain from excessive use of foreign goods; and the "Plan of the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts." The next month's issue contained an "Essay on the fatal tendency of prevailing luxuries," and articles on manufacturing and commerce by Tench Coxe and William Barton of Philadelphia and St. George Tucker of Virginia. The *Museum* also contained many other sorts of articles—poems, politics, and essays on domestic manners—but clearly one of its more important functions was as a national clearinghouse for pro-manufacturing political economy.

After the demise of the *American Museum*, Carey continued to blame Britain for America's stunted manufacturing sector.[12] So intense was his Anglophobia that he once speculated that a treaty of peace between Algiers and Portugal was really part of Whitehall's anti-American strategy, arranged so "that the corsairs of Barbary might have liberty to interrupt the commerce of this country with Europe."[13] He became active in a number of new projects aimed at promoting American manufacturing as a means toward economic independence from Britain. In 1791 he served on a committee spearheading a petition drive to Congress protesting a bill to subject apprentices to militia duty. This legislation, the petition predicted, would injure commerce and the "mechanic arts" and "eventually reduce us again to that ignoble and pernicious dependence upon foreign countries and foreign merchants, from which we have begun, with the most favorable auspices, to emancipate ourselves."[14] By the turn of the century, he had started the American Company of Booksellers, which was to hold an annual literary fair that would alternate between Philadelphia and New York in the hopes of creating a more efficient and open national book market.[15] Carey promoted the plan as a product of "the patriotic spirit of fostering domestic arts and manufactures," noting that it would help furnish employment to "various other important manufacturers" such as paper makers, letter-founders, ink makers, bookbinders, and engravers and would "secure to our own country the circulation of vast sums which at present are carried into other countries to invigorate their industries."[16] In 1803 he became treasurer of the Company for Promoting the Cultivation of Vines in the State of Pennsylvania. The group hoped to promote American winemaking so that "a large sum of money [may] be saved to the country annually, which is now exported for the different kinds of wines used by our citizens and our tables, and even the chambers of the sick."[17] His activities may

have been unusually varied, but Carey was hardly unique in his mercantilistic protectionist convictions, which were shared by many of his fellow mechanics.

The Roots of Mechanic Protectionism

American mechanics began to appeal to the states for protection immediately following the war. As Carey had in Ireland, they quickly saw the connection between protection and Anglophobia. This attitude emerged in Philadelphia even before the signing of the Treaty of Paris. An anti-Loyalist mass meeting of the city's freeholders in June 1783 spurred the mechanics' effort to limit British imports, which already were flooding the city's markets. "A Friend to Mechanics" writing in that week's *Pennsylvania Gazette* first congratulated the city's mechanics on their patriotism before rhetorically asking, "Shall those industrious citizens who have so capitally contributed to the independence of their country now be forgotten, and with their families become objects of the greatest distress for want of employment?" Not if the importation of various manufactures was prevented, was his answer.[18]

A group of mechanics expressed similar views at a mass meeting held at the Pennsylvania State House. Robert Porter chaired the meeting and made an eloquent speech linking patriotism, antiloyalism, and protectionism.[19] "You are summoned here this day," Porter began, "on business which concerns your dearest interests . . . whether the arm of industry and the laborious toils of the honest mechanic, shall be confined by the narrow and illiberal prejudices of a designing and vindictive enemy? Whether you are to be slaves and vassals to foreigners; beggars in your own country? Or, whether you are to enjoy the well earned fruits of peace and independence, to the establishment of which you have so essentially contributed?" Porter noted that many mechanics already experienced "the direful effects of an unrestrained importation of foreign manufactures," which if not restricted by the government threatened to negate their struggle for independence and usher in a period of "ruin and distress." He warned that Britain intended to glut the market with inexpensive manufactures to gain revenge for wartime "mortifications" and "to destroy without the possibility of redemption, the trade and manufactures of America." Mechanics must therefore "unite like a band of brothers in one common interest" to defeat the British plan with the help of protective legislation.[20]

In New York City, which the British occupied until November 1783, anti-Loyalist sentiment was even deeper than in Philadelphia. In January 1784 self-

styled "Whig Mechanics" met with like-minded grocers, retailers, and tavern keepers. Describing themselves as returned "exiles," they took a strong stand, arguing that Loyalists should not be allowed the privileges of trading in the city unless able to prove "their uniform attachment to the cause and independence of America." They also urged duties on foreign goods and restrictions on foreign shipping.[21]

In both cities the mechanics' anti-English, anti-import rhetoric eventually led them to petition their state legislatures for protective duties. Philadelphia's mechanics led this movement. Following Porter's July 1783 speech they resolved to form a general committee to petition the state for protection, and "a great number" of them signed a petition calling for the "laying such duties and restrictions on foreign articles, as will induce a preference to our own manufactures."[22] New York's Whig Mechanics' petition was officially received by the state assembly in March 1784, nearly two months after legislators had begun discussing the issue of duties. However, it had been well publicized in the city's newspapers in late January, and members of the assembly doubtless were aware of it during their earlier discussions.[23]

In Boston and Baltimore the mechanics' activities were initially less organized. There was no umbrella committee of mechanics similar to those in Philadelphia and New York in either city before 1785. In Boston and other Massachusetts towns, single-trade organizations filled the void. Sugar boilers, glue makers, soap boilers, tanners, tallow chandlers, rope makers, and other groups petitioned the General Court for duties between June 1784 and February 1785.[24] In Baltimore at this time there was no protectionist mechanic committee of any sort. The first sign of any protectionist sentiments came in the summer of 1784. A writer in the *Maryland Gazette* called for protective duties, noting with approval that it was "the policy of every nation, to encourage their own manufactory as much as possible, and lay very heavy duties, or totally prohibit all foreign produce."[25]

The year 1785 marked the first coordinated, national effort by the mechanic protectionists. Boston's mechanics led and publicized this movement. In April 1785 they met and formed a committee of tradesmen and manufacturers to petition the state for protective legislation. This activity was inspired by the earlier nonimportation efforts of Philadelphia's cordwainers, but the immediate trigger was a meeting held days earlier by the city's merchants, who were concerned about British factors selling goods in the city. Boston's mechanics, unwilling to allow the merchants to control the terms of the anti-British protectionist move-

ment, quickly took action. They published resolutions supporting the merchants, but they went even further, arguing that foreign goods, including those imported by "our own merchants" rather than "foreign agents," could harm American manufacturers.[26] By May, the newly formed Committee of Tradesmen and Manufacturers appealed to mechanics throughout Massachusetts to join them in a petition drive urging the state legislature to lay higher duties on foreign importations.[27] On receiving the mechanics' petition, the Massachusetts House of Representatives formed a committee on the issue, and in July they passed a new, more protective tariff into law.[28]

Following this victory Boston's mechanics began to transform their fight for protection from a state issue to a national movement. In late August they drafted a circular letter to mechanics throughout the nation. This important document would serve the dual function of rallying other mechanics to the protectionist cause and providing the clearest ideological statement of mechanic protectionism. As a call for action, the letter urged American mechanics to emulate the Bostonians by forming multitrade committees to push for anti-import legislation in their states and ultimately on the national level.[29] The Bostonians sent the letter to mechanics in all the major seaport cities, who in turn passed on copies to their brethren in smaller towns, spurring further protectionist activities and drawing the new nation's mechanics closer together.[30]

In Philadelphia, where mechanic protectionism had been especially strong in 1783, news of the Boston mechanics' activities helped to reinvigorate the movement. After a year or so in which protectionism was relatively dormant on a popular level (although it was still an issue in the state legislature), Philadelphia's master and journeymen cordwainers held meetings in March 1785 at which they resolved not to sell or mend foreign shoes and boots.[31] This activism was one factor that spurred Boston's manufacturers and tradesmen to meet as a group the following month; in turn, news of the Boston meeting spurred the rest of Philadelphia's mechanics to action. Letters from Boston advocating protection found their way into the Philadelphia press, and the resolves themselves received extensive coverage in mid-May.[32] At the same time, Philadelphia's merchants, much like their Boston counterparts, met to petition for a stronger national government that would be better able to regulate foreign trade.[33]

Prompted by these developments, Philadelphia's mechanics played an important role in a town meeting held in June to discuss ways of reviving the city's economy. At the meeting a committee of prominent Philadelphians asked the citizens to support a series of resolutions calling for measures to provide "the de-

sired relief which the present state of our trade and manufactures in the relation with foreign nations requires." These resolutions called for national and state protective legislation and for favorable trade treaties with foreign countries. From start to finish, they revealed the Philadelphia elites' new concern about manufacturing.[34] This sensitivity was in part a reflection of the power mechanics now held in a tense political climate in which two local parties were struggling to gain their support.[35] By stressing manufacturing concerns, the merchants may also have hoped to avoid the tension between merchants and mechanics that had so recently emerged in Boston, but these concessions were not enough. Just as the citizens were preparing to disband, someone on the floor suggested that seven mechanics be added to the committee to ensure that it would adhere to the new pro-manufacturing rhetoric. The motion was accepted, and the newcomers were added to the committee.[36] Some of these mechanics, particularly James Pearson, were prominent protectionists.[37] These additions and the pro-manufacturing tenor of the resolves smoothed over merchant-mechanic tensions; for unlike their counterparts in Boston, Philadelphia's mechanics never held separate protectionist meetings.[38]

The Boston letter also profoundly influenced the Baltimoreans. Baltimore's mechanics had held two earlier meetings at which they organized as the Association of Tradesmen and Manufacturers and tentatively discussed protection, but it was the Boston circular letter, which arrived in late September, that sparked real activity.[39] The arrival of the circular letter "not only facilitated our measures, but inspired us with greater confidence to proceed in the arduous but necessary undertaking," the committee wrote in a response to the Bostonians.[40] The Baltimoreans proceeded to gather signatures for a pro-tariff petition to the state legislature and to enlist the support of mechanics in Maryland's smaller towns.[41] New York's mechanics took a less energetic role in this round of protectionist activity, although 1785 proved to be an auspicious year for them, too.[42] In late 1784 they had begun a campaign to get the state legislature to incorporate them as the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen. Despite the failure of this effort, the General Society was formed as an unincorporated group in November 1785 and would soon play an important part in mechanic protectionism.[43]

For many reasons, then, 1785 was a crucial year, perhaps *the* crucial year for protectionism. In three of the new nation's largest cities protectionist activity markedly increased. In all these cities, and in many smaller ones, mechanics organized and they began to play a leading role in defining the terms and fighting

the battle for protective duties. For the first time, they took steps to coordinate their activities on a national level.

The Ideology of Mechanic Protectionism

What sort of ideology undergirded this movement? Clearly it was not classical republicanism. Although protectionists sometimes espoused republican ideas of virtue and the related fear of corrupt luxury, their economic theory was not entirely republican, for their emphasis on manufacturing diverged from that of contemporary republicans who still glorified the classical ideal of independent farmers, often mistrusted commerce, and feared the dependent relationships inherent in manufacturing.[44] Neither did it fit comfortably with classical liberalism, for protectionism by its very nature calls for an active state and is inconsistent with the idea of free trade. Furthermore, in their emphasis on mutuality, the mechanics were not entirely comfortable with the liberal celebration of individual interests.[45]

Rather, mechanic protectionism can best be described as an expression of popular neomercantilism.[46] Four objectives characterized this economic ideology: a positive balance of trade; an active state to direct the economy; a balanced, self-sufficient national economy; and a concern for the general good over individual interests. It drew on the long-established language of mercantilism, but unlike classical European mercantilists such as the French under Colbert and the Council of Commerce, the mechanics did not wish to involve the government in inspecting manufactures or regulating prices and manufacturing processes.[47] They also differed from many European mercantilists and from American merchants by calling for more national self-sufficiency and a corresponding de-emphasis of the role of foreign trade within the economy.

The need for a positive national balance of trade, the central assumption of European mercantilism, was also an integral part of mechanic protectionism. In practice, it led mechanics to voice concern about the large outflow of cash from America to Europe. In an early meeting, Boston's mechanics declared, "That we do bear our public testimony against sending away our circulating cash for foreign remittances; As this practice we conceive is calculated to *impoverish the country, to distress individuals in the prosecution of their business, and in payment of their taxes.*"[48] Philadelphia's cordwainers emphasized the same point, complaining of "the pernicious consequences of such large importations of European

manufactures . . . [as] drains the country of large sums of money that ought to be kept in it for the encouragement of its own manufactures."[49] For one writer, this currency drain was all a British plot to reconquer America: "Powder and ball, muskets and bayonets, could not conquer us, but we are to be subdued by British gewgaws. . . . Our money will be all drawn away, and then we can do nothing; all must stop. This is a scheme laid by Britons now for our overthrow."[50] Taking their cue from the precepts of the British system, mechanics hoped to solve these balance-of-trade problems by creating more self-sufficient internal markets to minimize reliance on foreign trade.

That mechanic protectionists needed an active government was a lesson reinforced by the Revolution. The nonimportation movement of the 1760s had achieved protection without state aid only with great difficulty and constant vigilance against cheaters on the part of the mechanics. Now Boston's mechanics rejected this voluntary model: "The first measure adopted by this association was to pass resolves respecting the importation of certain articles from Europe by our own merchants, and numbers of British agents residing among us; but knowing that nothing could be effected to any radical purpose unless we had the authority of the laws, we petitioned the legislature of this state, praying that duties might be laid on the several articles enumerated in our petition."[51] The mechanics urged the tradesmen and manufacturers of Massachusetts "to join with us in all legal measures to obtain a regulation of the present system of commerce."[52] "It is the business of the Legislature to regulate and to tax importation of wrought articles, so as best to promote our own manufactures," wrote a Bostonian calling himself Colbert. "This I believe has been the policy of all commercial nations, and is conformable to the dictates of common sense."[53] In his appropriation of the name of France's great mercantilist minister and in his arguments, Colbert clearly linked the active protectionist state to mercantilist precedents.

An important goal of the activist government would be the creation of a balanced, self-sufficient economy. The Boston circular letter called for a plan to be adopted throughout the confederation "for the exchange of the produce and manufactures of each state." Under this plan, "the Northern states might furnish many articles of manufactures which are now imported from Europe; and in return might receive those supplies peculiar to the growth and climate of the southern." In this way European importation would be limited, creating a more self-sufficient economy that would bring together regional strengths to create a coherent whole. This idea, of course, foreshadowed Henry Clay's American sys-

tem. Ironically, it also reflected aspects of the old British system wherein the thirteen colonies had produced raw goods and England produced manufactures. The difference was that the agricultural regions would not officially be colonies, although in later years Southerners would complain that they had become just that.[54]

A second kind of balance in the self-sufficient national economy would be between farmers, mechanics, and merchants, described by a Maryland protectionist as "the three great classes who compose the body of the community."[55] Boston's mechanics made a similar point when they wrote to the city's merchants, "We trust some effectual means will be devised to promote the prosperity of the commerce, trade, and manufactures of this town."[56] New York's mechanics and retailers called for legislation to assist merchants and farmers as well as themselves. For the merchants, they urged the state legislature to institute navigation acts against British vessels and to pay "a serious attention to the mercantile interest [on which] principally attends the welfare and importance of this city." For the farmers they urged "that agriculture be promoted and encouraged to the utmost."[57]

Mechanics often celebrated the general good, rather than narrow self interest. The very form of their associations embodied a broad social consciousness. Unlike single-trade organizations, such as that of Philadelphia's cordwainers, by 1785 city-wide multitrade associations had become the norm. Bostonians explicitly urged other mechanics to form similar organizations so that "we may then hope the manufactures of this country will flourish, when each man becomes interested not only in his own branch but in those of his brethren." Similarly, in their address to the tradesmen and manufacturers of Massachusetts, they stressed the need for union among mechanics because "the interest of the WHOLE is so intimately connected with those branches already affected."[58] The idea of a national brotherhood of mechanics took their preference for association over competition one step further. The mechanics' efforts to include merchant and farmer concerns in their vision of a national economy also can be seen as a rejection of narrow self-interest and an embrace of the general good. They no doubt intended this rhetoric to sway politically powerful merchants and farmers, but the effort to appear disinterested also suggests that they were still not comfortable with the liberal concept that self-interest could be virtuous.

Who Belonged to the Mechanic Committees?

It is frustratingly difficult to know exactly who the members of these protectionist groups were. The names of their organizations suggest that although they

did not agree on what to call themselves, they understood what they were *not;* they clearly set themselves apart from the merchants, the dominant urban elites. The New Yorkers called themselves the General Society of *Mechanics* and *Tradesmen*, and the Philadelphians called themselves the committee of *manufacturers* and *mechanics*, while the Bostonians and Baltimoreans both styled themselves associations of *tradesmen* and *manufacturers*. These different names probably meant the same thing, reflecting the confusion of their members at a time when traditional small-scale artisanal production coexisted with some larger preindustrial "manufactories" such as ropewalks, breweries, and distilleries.[59] In general, I have called them mechanics, not because that was uniformly their own usage, but in order to differentiate them from the larger-scale merchant-manufacturers who would begin to dominate the discourse of manufacturing in the 1790s.

The leaders of the mechanics' committees were drawn from the ranks of the master craftsmen and manufactory owners, and, like most leaders, they were generally prosperous and politically ambitious. They frequently had also been important mechanic patriots during the Revolution. In Boston, master shipwright Gibbons Sharp and hat maker Sarson Belcher (who was accused of price fixing during the war) were prominent mechanics who had both been active in the Revolution as Sons of Liberty and members of various other groups.[60] Rope maker Benjamin Austin was younger (thirty-three in 1785) and of a somewhat different stripe. He was born into a mercantile Boston family, and his brother Jonathan served on the city's merchants' committee. Benjamin called himself a mechanic based on his ownership, in partnership with Jonathan, of a ropewalk they had purchased after the war. Austin's identification with the mechanics was probably a means of furthering his considerable political ambitions, a motive slyly suggested in contemporary newspaper articles.[61]

In Baltimore, prominent card maker Adam Fonerden and coppersmith William Clemm had both been members of the revolutionary Mechanical Company, and Clemm had been a Son of Liberty. Other leaders of the Association of Tradesmen and Manufacturers also were prominent and prosperous master craftsmen.[62] The Philadelphia mechanics chosen to join the merchants' committee were among the city's wealthiest master craftsmen, and some, particularly Thomas Leiper and Anthony Cuthbert, had political ambitions.[63] In New York, the mechanic leaders were also prominent members of the community. Anthony Post was frequently endorsed by the mechanics for the state assembly, an office to which he was elected in 1790 and 1800.[64] Jeremiah Wool, a last and heel maker, was elected alderman in 1785, a position that he would hold for the next seven years.[65]

The rank and file tended to be less-prominent traditional craftsmen more representative of the mechanic community as a whole, although most probably were still master craftsmen who had achieved a competency. There is also evidence of at least a few journeymen among the ranks.[66] Unfortunately, membership records exist only for New York.[67] There, membership in the General Society of Tradesmen and Mechanics was fairly representative of the city's mechanic population as a whole—at least by occupation. Members were drawn from thirty-one artisanal trades, each of which chose delegates to represent them on a general committee.[68] The five leading trades were carpenters, tailors, tanner/curriers, hatters, and tallow chandlers. Members of some of these groups, particularly tanners and tallow chandlers, may well have run fairly large "manufactories," while others no doubt owned or worked in smaller traditional shops. Only the shipbuilding and fitting trades were not well represented.[69] Perhaps their dependence on merchants' ship orders caused members of these trades to hesitate to join a protectionist organization whose goals occasionally conflicted with those of the merchants. By 1792 the General Society listed ninety-three members on its petition for incorporation, and many others appear to have participated in the process of electing representatives to the general committee. By 1798 roughly five hundred mechanics were, or had been, members in good standing.[70] If they did not perfectly reflect the mechanic community as a whole, they nonetheless reflected the contemporary range of urban producers.

Merchants and Protectionism

The mechanics were not the only vocal protectionists in 1785. Merchants, too, held meetings and passed protectionist resolutions, sometimes even forming alliances with the mechanic committees on this issue. These alliances were based not only on temporary exigency, as some historians have argued, but also on a deeper foundation of shared neomercantilistic economic ideas.[71] The sometimes considerable tensions between the two groups were due not so much to ideological disagreement as they were to divergent interests.

The language of mercantilism, as its name implies, was popular with merchants, and traders still spoke it in the American cities of the 1780s. The merchants' political economy in the pre-Revolutionary eighteenth century has been described as a dialectic between "free-trade" and "fair-trade." While free traders opposed government regulation of the economy, the fair traders "asserted the necessity of state regulation to maintain reason as opposed to passion, national

self-sufficiency as opposed to chaos."[72] After the Revolution, merchants moved toward a more neomercantilistic position. That is, they still favored government direction but advocated fewer controls.[73] Elements of this outlook were clearly compatible with mechanic protectionism, facilitating a mechanic-merchant alliance.

The resolves issued by the merchants' committees illustrate this ideological compatibility. Like the mechanics, the merchants frequently referred to the desirability of an active national government to direct the economy, especially in their support of a national impost and Congressional power to regulate trade. New York's Chamber of Commerce, for example, met in June 1785 to discuss the "want of an adequate power in the supreme authority of the United States to regulate [trade]." Similarly, Philadelphia's merchants wrote their state representatives of their hope "that a recommendation from Congress to the states, to vest that body with the necessary powers over the United States would be well received on their part."[74] Also like the mechanics, the merchants were especially concerned about maintaining the new nation's balance of trade. At the Boston merchants' meeting "the attempts of the British from motives of profit or insidious policy to drain us of our specie were amply considered."[75] Finally, the merchants, like the mechanics, stressed that they were concerned with the general good rather than their particular interests, and they made sure to note their concern for all three parts of the national economy—agriculture, trade, and manufacturing.[76] The most obvious manifestation of this concern was the inclusion of mechanics on merchant committees in New York and Philadelphia, although there can be no doubt this inclusiveness resulted from political calculation as well as economic ideology.

While mechanics and merchants agreed on the need for state regulation to maintain a favorable balance of trade, they differed on the role to be played by manufacturing. Unlike the mechanics, the merchants continued to view foreign trade as the foundation of the national economy, and they rarely paid much attention to American manufacturing. For example, the New York Chamber of Commerce failed to mention manufacturing at all in their resolves supporting a national impost.[77] A "merchant of Maryland" wrote in the Baltimore press that while agriculture and trade should be encouraged, "manufactures of fine and highly polished goods would at this time be a vain attempt."[78] In general, mainstream merchant positions on manufacturing ranged from a lack of interest to outright hostility, reflecting a natural conflict of interests between those who imported foreign goods and those who manufactured similar items at home.

This friction was most obvious in Boston, where merchant support of man-

ufacturing proved to be rather half-hearted. In April 1785 the city's merchants voted to "encourage all in our power, the manufactures and produce of this country" and "in all cases endeavour to promote them." The mechanics responded by praising the merchants' "sincere intentions to join with us in ALL measures necessary to attain this desirable end," including the cessation of "all further importation of any such articles as are usually manufactured among ourselves." The mechanics had cleverly seized on the merchants' professed support of manufacturing and used it to gain further merchant support of a protectionist petition to the state legislature. The merchants did support the petition, but they ignored the mechanics' suggestion of a total ban on foreign goods that competed with American manufactures. This tug and pull between mechanics and merchants was still in evidence in October, when the mechanics voted to consider all persons who should endeavor to "weaken the operation" of the recently ratified state impost "ENEMIES to the manufacturing interest of the state."[79] The potential culprits were obvious: merchants smuggling in foreign goods without paying duties.

There is some evidence of a similar tug and pull between merchants and mechanics in Philadelphia, where merchants who met in June 1785 lobbied for a stronger national congress that would be better able to regulate commerce. Most importantly, they hoped Congress would be allowed to lay restrictions on foreign trade, "for while the whole of our trade is laid open to these [foreign] nations, they are at liberty to limit us to such branches of their's [*sic*] as interest or policy may dictate."[80] Without a strong national government, America was unable to retaliate. At a town meeting attended by both mechanics and merchants several weeks later, a citizen, perhaps a mechanic, proposed that the townspeople vote to endorse the merchants' resolves "so far as the views of that memorial extend." The implication was that the memorial did not extend far enough. Other events at the town meeting, particularly a resolution to discourage the importation of foreign manufactures (through a combination of duties, imposts, and outright prohibition of certain articles), and the last-minute addition of seven mechanics to the committee suggest that where the merchants fell short was in their failure to promote manufacturing. Although the evidence is not quite as clear as for Boston, it seems probable that here, too, mechanics were making use of merchant support for economic regulation to push them toward support for protection.

Despite agreement on fundamental neomercantilistic ideas, the mechanics and merchants diverged over the role of manufacturing in the putative national economy. Quite simply, the merchants' interests as importers of foreign goods

conflicted with the mechanics' interests as manufacturers of domestic goods. Perhaps most remarkable in this situation is the amount of influence the mechanics had on the merchants, who needed mechanic support for protective navigation acts and a national impost. Far from being powerless, the mechanics were important players in the neomercantilistic discourse, able to push it some distance toward their pro-manufacturing position.

Tariffs: Bittersweet Fruit of Protection

The mechanics were able to gain some but not all the protection they wanted. Several of the more urbanized states passed tariff measures aimed, at least to some extent, at aiding domestic manufacturing.[81] In passing such legislation, Pennsylvania's state assembly indicated that it intended "to encourage and protect the Manufactures of this state." The preamble praised Pennsylvania's "artizans and mechanicks" for supplying the state not only with weapons but also with ammunition and clothing "without which the war could not have been carried on." Despite the cheapness of imported goods, the preamble continued, "Good policy and a regard to the well being of divers useful and industrious citizens, who are employed in the making of like goods, in this state, demand of us that moderate duties be laid on certain fabricks and manufactures imported, which do most interfere with and which (if no relief be given) will undermine and destroy the useful manufactures of the like kind in this country."[82] Somewhat less forcefully, the Massachusetts act of 1785 claimed to "encourage agriculture, the improvements of raw materials and manufactures, a spirit of industry, frugality and economy, and at the same time to discourage luxury and extravagance of every kind."[83] As usual, the New Englanders felt compelled to moralize against luxury in the same figurative breath that they pledged to protect manufactures.

The level of protection offered by the actual duties is less easily interpreted than the language of the preambles. The Pennsylvania act of 1785 listed more than fifty categories of goods, ranging from lightly processed agricultural products such as pork and dried peas, to steel, to highly complex products such as clocks and chariots. Metal goods and footwear were frequently singled out for special duties. Ad valorem duties on other goods ranged from 2.5 to 15 percent.[84] The Massachusetts legislation of 1785, while similar, was somewhat more protectionist. After the law was revised the next year, it forbade the importation of fifty-eight types of goods and set a schedule of ad valorem rates ranging from 5 to 15 percent, with a very large assortment of goods taxed at 15 percent.[85] Penn-

sylvania tariffs and those of most other states applied only to "foreign" goods, not to those manufactured within the United States.[86]

Pennsylvania mechanics were not pleased with an early draft of their state's bill when it was published for public consideration. "The mode proposed by it does not fully answer their expectation," their committee, led by James Pearson, wrote the state legislators in April.[87] Defending themselves against the charge of self-interest in the tariff schedules they had proposed to the legislature, the mechanics attacked the merchant who "prefers his own present interest to that of the community." As for the duties, the mechanics stressed the need for tariffs on iron, leather goods, sailcloth, and materials for ships. Although they may have wanted slightly higher tariff rates, the mechanics were no doubt pleased that the revised legislation passed later in the year followed their suggestions fairly closely.

New York's legislation was comparatively less protectionist. Unlike that of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, it never claimed to protect manufacturing. The legislation of 1785 listed duties for slightly more than thirty categories of imports, mostly the processed goods and manufactured items taxed by other states. Some goods, particularly shoes and boots, hats, clocks and watches, and iron goods, were taxed at fairly high rates, but most duties were lower than in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Ad valorem duties for nonenumerated goods were set at 2.5 percent, although subsequent legislation raised some to 5 percent.[88] New York's mechanics were still not entirely satisfied.[89] The legislators raised the tariff slightly in 1787, but not to the higher levels of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.[90]

Of the states with the strongest mechanic protectionist movements, only Maryland failed completely to protect domestic manufactures, despite the best efforts of the mechanics of Baltimore and some other towns. The lower house was fairly receptive to the mechanics' petitions, but the state senate was less cooperative. In 1784 Maryland enacted an impost intended "to bring a very considerable sum of money into the treasury to assist the revenue, and to encourage the building and navigating vessels by our own citizens" but not to protect manufactures.[91] At the height of mechanic protectionism in late 1785, the House of Delegates passed a more protective impost, but the senate refused to ratify it due to concerns that high duties might divert Maryland's shipping to ports in nearby states.[92] Mechanic petitions prompted a house committee to make one final effort to pass protective legislation in the winter of 1786–87. This bill was proposed to "discourage the importation of all foreign produce and manufactures which can be wholly or partly supplied by industry and skill within ourselves."[93] The proposed duties were slightly lower than those of the 1785 Pennsylvania act.

The house passed the bill with some amendments, but the senate killed it. The newness of manufacturing in this state and the relative lack of support from merchants compared to New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania doomed the mechanics' efforts.

Nevertheless, mechanic protection had some notable successes in 1785 and subsequent years. Although mechanics did not gain as much protection as they would have liked, their views were heard and they were often influential in shaping legislation.

Mechanics Discover Federalism

After 1785 the mechanics increasingly looked toward the nascent federal government for protection. This new orientation manifested itself first in mechanic political support of federalism and, after the Constitution's ratification, in their protectionist petitions to the U.S. Congress. Mechanic federalism is often explained in terms of the economic interest of mechanics who believed they needed a federal constitution in order to create effective tariffs and revive manufacturing.[94] Certainly this explanation works well for Maryland and New York, where protective legislation was nonexistent or weak, but it is less convincing for Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, where tariffs were already protective. One possible explanation is that these state laws may have been subverted by importers bringing goods in "through the back door"—through states with lower tariffs, such as New Jersey. This argument is only partially convincing. The existence of back-door importing would seem to confirm that the tariffs made it more difficult to import foreign goods. Furthermore, in a society with generally poor overland transportation only a small volume of goods could come in the back door, and smuggling goods, whether by land or sea, would also make them more expensive.

Given their neomercantilist ideology, the mechanics' support for federalism is more easily explained as a natural extension of their continuing support for strong government. Even prior to ratification, they thought of tariffs and manufacturing as national issues, as is apparent in their efforts to form a national mechanics' alliance in 1785 and their discussions of a balanced national economy. The levels of protection offered by state tariffs do, nonetheless, appear to have affected the relative fervor of mechanic federalism from city to city. In New York and Baltimore, mechanic support for federalism was strong, whereas in Boston and Philadelphia, where strong protective legislation already existed, mechanic federalism was weaker.

In New York City, mechanics were federalists almost without exception. When the news that Massachusetts had ratified the Constitution reached the city, two shipbuilders and a sailmaker proudly raised the Massachusetts flag above the Coffee-House, which served as an important gathering place for the city's commercial classes. Shortly thereafter, the master carpenters endorsed prominent carpenter-politician Anthony Post and silversmith William Gilbert as part of a federalist slate for the state assembly and recommended a group of federalist delegates to the Constitutional Convention. A general meeting of mechanics and tradesmen provided wider support for these measures.[95] The result was an overwhelming victory for the federalists, who won the election in New York City by a margin of more than twenty to one. The most popular antifederalist, Governor George Clinton, received only 134 of nearly 3,000 votes.[96] Enthusiasm continued after the election, as the various artisanal trades planned a parade to celebrate the expected ratification of the Constitution.[97]

In Baltimore the mechanics' federalism stemmed from their bitter defeat on the tariff issue. After the defeat of the 1785 tariff bill in the state senate, the city's mechanics entered electoral politics for the first time, in an effort to vote in a pro-tariff senate elector. The first hint of this strategy was an anonymous newspaper letter from "A Real Friend to Maryland," who referred to the mechanics' earlier defeat and attempted to spur them on to further action by writing, "The time is drawing near when you ought to fix upon the persons whom you intend to elect for your representatives. If you advert to the manifest neglect that a certain petition met at a former session, when similar petitions met with a happy success in neighbouring states, and the little good done throughout the progress of said session, you have an undoubted right to judge, whether a change of men is not at the present really necessary."[98] Shortly after the letter appeared, the Association of Tradesmen and Manufacturers endorsed James McHenry. Unlike most Marylanders, McHenry was a proponent of manufacturing, viewing it as a means of creating wealth and as a lever to gain commercial concessions from England, whose merchants and manufacturers feared an economically independent America.[99] Despite the mechanics' efforts, his opponent, a Baltimore County planter, won the election.[100]

The mechanics continued their active role in electoral politics. The election of federalists McHenry and Dr. John Coulter as delegates to the state's Constitutional ratification convention in 1788 sparked a joyful celebration by "the shipbuilders, the tradesmen concerned in navigation, the merchants, the manufacturers, and several thousand inhabitants" who waved American flags and carried

with them a model of a vessel, symbolizing the federal ship of state.[101] A partial analysis of the actual balloting indicates that it was mainly poorer mechanics and laborers who supported McHenry and Coulter.[102] Protectionism had been an important element in spurring Baltimore's mechanics to participate in electoral politics and prompting them to become federalists.

The bulk of Boston's mechanics also supported the federalists, but with less fervor. In late 1787 several newspaper articles predicted mechanic support for the Constitution, but they gave few hints of enthusiasm. For example, the author of an anonymous catechism on the issue began in this way: "It is the interest of the merchants to encourage the Constitution because commerce may then be a national object, and nations will form treaties with us. It is the interest of the mechanics to join the mercantile interest; because it is not their interest to quarrel with their bread and butter."[103] One fact, more than any other, underscores the divisions among Boston's mechanics: Benjamin Austin Jr., perhaps the most important political force behind mechanic protectionism and an author of the Boston circular letter, wrote an important series of antifederalist articles under the pen name Candidus.[104]

Why would Austin support the antifederalists? His close association with the antifederal Sam Adams was certainly a factor. Moreover, a close reading of Austin's three Candidus pieces suggests that he sincerely believed that the concerns of mechanic protectionism could be met without radical change. The federal government described by the proposed Constitution would be too powerful and too expensive, he argued. Furthermore, "It does not appear that the embarrassments of our trade will be removed by the adoption of this Constitution"—in part because it would not force European countries to end their commercial restrictions, which were in place to promote their own industries rather than to fetter American commerce.[105] More importantly, "the extravagance of our British importations, the discouragement of our own manufactures, and the luxurious living of all ranks and degrees," rather than a weak central government, were the principle causes of America's commercial distress.[106]

His solution was to rework the Articles of Confederation to allow for a national impost and other commercial legislation.[107] Austin's argument had some logical appeal from a protectionist perspective, for it was the design of the federalists, clearly articulated in the *Federalist Papers*, that the new government would not be easily influenced by any interest groups. There was, therefore, no guarantee that the mechanics would be able to influence the new Congress to pass protective legislation.[108] Underlying the supple nuances of Candidus's ar-

gument was a call for a national government strong enough to lay imposts but not strong enough to subordinate the state governments.

Some Boston mechanics followed Austin in publicly opposing the Constitution. Their opposition prompted a meeting of federalist mechanics, led by Paul Revere, to assert their support for the Constitution and to deride the antifederalist mechanics as persons "intending to injure the reputation of the tradesmen of this town." The Constitution, Revere and his comrades argued, was necessary to protect the liberties and trade of the new nation, and without it "the small remains of commerce yet left us, will be annihilated."[109] A large number of mechanics again demonstrated their support for the Constitution in the February parade celebrating its ratification. This parade, the first in the seaport cities, also was the one most dominated by mechanics; they planned it and supplied most of the marchers.

Parading Mechanic Ideology

In all the major cities, once the state ratification convention approved or seemed about to approve the new Constitution, mechanics participated in and often directed large-scale celebratory parades.[110] These orderly processions of thousands on foot and in elaborate floats, carrying banners, flags, and craft instruments reveal the essence of mechanic culture. Historians have argued that the parades reflected political culture, civic religion, class relations, craft structure, republicanism, and the process of creating American nationalism.[111] At the risk of burdening the marchers with still more symbolic weight, I would add that they also demonstrated important aspects of the mechanics' brand of neomercantilistic political economy.

The existence and widespread popularity of the processions reflects the strength of mechanic federalism and protectionism. Mechanics played a central role in planning these events and also made up the bulk of participants. At the Boston parade, the first and smallest, at least 1,400 people marched.[112] The various mechanics formed a long column comprising forty craft units. The practitioners of each craft, or group of related crafts, carried tools, banners, or other items symbolic of their trades. At New York, well over two thousand participants marched, the bulk of them in the fifty-two craft units. About five thousand marched in the Philadelphia parade, the largest and most elaborate, and seventeen thousand took part in the post-parade libations.[113]

Both the form and content of the processions reflected the general assump-

tion of a three-part balanced economy. Even in Boston, where mechanics hastily organized the procession, representatives of all three branches of the economy—mercantile, agricultural, and manufacturing—were featured prominently. At the very head of the procession marched sixteen foresters carrying axes and scythes, followed by a horse-drawn plow, oxen, sowers, reapers, haymakers, and even a "yoke of fat cattle." These agricultural marchers, inhabitants of the then rural town of Roxbury, symbolized that farmers were the mechanics' "brethren" and that the two groups would be mutually dependent in the new national economy.[114] In Philadelphia, an observer wrote that "Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures, together with the learned and mechanical professions, seemed to acknowledge, by their harmony and respect for each other, that they were all necessary to each other, and all useful in cultivated society."[115] New York City's drum makers depicted this mutual dependence on the banner they carried, which displayed a sheaf of flax at top center, a lamb below it, an oak tree to the left, drums in two corners, and a drum maker on the right. Out of agricultural products, it seemed to say, come manufactured goods.

Bostonians also emphasized the importance of merchants, 250 of whom marched with the model ship Federal Constitution, the dramatic high point of the parade. In the other cities, where merchants appear to have taken a more active role in planning the parades, they also occupied prominent positions. Merchants, of course, had close links to mechanics in the maritime trades, and these two groups marched side by side in nearly all the parades.[116] New York's sailmakers' flag, featuring "a view of a river, a ship at anchors, representing commerce; a boat taking in sails to carry on board" clearly signified the dependence of sailmakers on the merchants' overseas trade. Still, sympathy between the two groups could go only so far; no ships were shown *importing* materials.

The slogans and iconography of the processions also reflected the mechanics' faith in the ability of an active state to produce economic prosperity. Thus, Philadelphia's rope makers carried a flag "representing a rope yard, with ten men spinning, and three standing idle with their hemp around their waists." This scene symbolized a revival of commerce in the ten states that had already ratified the Constitution and foretold bleak prospects in the three holdouts should they refuse ratification, a message made more explicit by the flag's slogan, "May commerce flourish." New York's ship joiners made a similar prediction of economic prosperity under the new constitution in their verse: "This federal ship will our commerce revive, / And merchants and shipwrights and joiners shall thrive."[117]

Other mechanics used the processions to press the new federal government to enact protective legislation. As an anonymous observer of the Philadelphia procession noted, "The patriot enjoyed a complete triumph, whether the objects of his patriotism were the security of liberty, the establishment of law, *the protection of manufactures*, or the extension of science in his country."[118] Philadelphia's weavers' motto simply read, "May government protect us." Baltimore's silversmiths and watchmakers echoed this sentiment with a flag reading, "No importation and we shall live."

More commonly, mechanics conspicuously displayed American-made goods to convey a "buy American" message. New York's skinners, breeches makers, and glovers marched together under the slogan, "Americans encourage your own manufactures." A parchment maker joined them carrying a flag made of his own product, with the simple inscription, "American manufactured." Baltimore's blacksmiths conveyed a similar message; their motto was "While industry prevails, we need no foreign nails." Many other mechanics made similar points merely by wearing American-made clothing and displaying American-made products. The only manufacturers who consistently avoided such patriotism were members of the maritime trades, who depended on overseas trade for their economic survival.[119] Read in the context of the protectionist movement of the 1780s, these slogans and banners demonstrate the centrality of the mechanics' neomercantilism to their support of a strong federal government.

Pushing for a Federal Tariff

After the ratification of the Constitution, protectionist mechanics in the port cities began petition drives to Congress. This movement started in New York City, where a committee of protectionist merchant-manufacturers and mechanics, including Anthony Post, met in the fall of 1788. They hoped to revive the old interstate urban protectionist alliance as a means of pushing the new Congress toward federal protection.[120] To this end, they wrote to Boston's mechanics with the traditional complaints about foreign imports. Citing their difficulties with New York's legislature, they advised them to rely on the federal government in the future and to unite to influence it. "When our views, like our interests are combined and concentrated, our *petitions to the federal legislature*, will assume the tone and complexion of the public wishes and will have a proportionate weight and influence," they wrote.[121] A new federal petition drive consciously modeled on the state protectionist efforts of 1785 had begun.[122]

The movement shifted into high gear in the first quarter of 1789, as the first federal Congress began to consider the tariff question. Baltimore's Committee of Tradesmen and Manufacturers met in February to formulate a petition and "a list of such articles of home manufacturers as may be thought worthy of the encouragement of that honorable body." They solicited the various branches of mechanics for input on what items to include and sent a final copy to the New York committee.[123] The Bostonians and the Philadelphians soon followed suit; once Congress assumed power to regulate overseas commerce, they would no longer be protected by tariff legislation enacted earlier by their state legislatures. Boston's tradesmen and manufacturers met to respond to letters from New York and Baltimore and to draw up their own protectionist petition to Congress. The formerly antifederalist Benjamin Austin was chosen to be on the committee of correspondence. Faced with the reality of the new Constitution, he no doubt saw nothing wrong with influencing Congress to be as protectionist as possible.[124] In Philadelphia, the committee of mechanics and manufacturers, now led by Reuben Haines with James Pearson as secretary, held a mass meeting to draw up a petition requesting Congress "to lay such duties or imposts on foreign merchandise imported into the states, as will give a decided preference to our own." Enthusiasm for the project did not, however, last long, and the petition was never completed.[125]

The language of the petitions reflected the mechanics' neomercantilistic emphasis on a strong central government able to ensure economic independence.[126] These documents all recounted the failure of the Revolution to bring economic well-being to the new nation.[127] The petitioners were careful to stress that the benefits of economic independence would not be limited to mechanics and manufacturers. The New Yorkers pointed to the decline in trade and the fact that "Agriculture has lost its capital stimulus, and manufacture, the sister of commerce, has participated in all its distresses." The root cause of these problems, not surprisingly, was the unfavorable balance of trade resulting from the fact that, as the Baltimoreans wrote, "the wealth of the people hath been prodigally expended in the purchase of those articles, from foreigners, which our citizens, if properly encouraged, were fully competent to furnish."

The solution to these problems was, of course, protection. The Baltimore and New York petitions noted that the protection movement in the states had failed, and in the words of the Baltimoreans, "no effectual provision could reasonably be expected, until one uniform, efficient government should pervade this wide-extended country."[128] Instead of stressing the failure of state protection, the

Table 4.1. Federal Tariff of 1789 Compared to State Tariffs

Selected Item	Federal (%)	N.Y. (%)	Mass. (%)	Penn. (%)
Glass	10	7.5–8.5	10	2.5
Stone and earthenware	10	7.5	15	10
Blank books	7.5	7.5	10	10
Paper	7.5	7.5	15	10
Cabinet ware	7.5	7.5	22.5	10
Fur and wool hats	7.5	7.5		10
Iron	7.5		10	10
Leather	7.5		10–15	10
Canes and whips	7.5	8	12.5	10
Ready-made clothing	7.5	8	22.5	10
Brushes	7.5	8	15	
Gold and silver plate	7.5	8	12.5–15	
Wrought tin and pewter	7.5	7.5	5–10	
Nonspecified goods	5	2.5	5	

Sources: William Frank Zornow, "New York Tariff Policies, 1775–1789" *New York History* 37 (1956); William Frank Zornow, "Massachusetts Tariff Policies, 1775–1789," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 90 (1954).
Notes: Federal rates are from U.S. Statutes. New York rates are from the 1787 schedule, including 1788 revisions (Zornow, 45–47). Massachusetts rates are from the 1785 schedule and 1786 revision (Zornow, 201–203). Pennsylvania rates are from the 1785 schedule (Laws of Pennsylvania, 669–675). I have selected those items for which there were percentage (ad valorem) duties in at least three of the four jurisdictions. Where there is a blank, that specific jurisdiction did not have a percentage duty on that item. I have not compared specific duties (e.g., in shillings or dollars) because of the different state currencies.

Bostonians, who had relatively strong state tariffs before the Constitution, cited it as a precedent. They wrote that the "patronage of this State Legislature, in their act laying duties and prohibitions on certain articles of manufacture encourages your petitioners to request that heavy duties may be laid on such articles as are manufactured by our citizens." They and the others provided lists of the articles that Congress should consider protecting. The intellectual links from the Revolution to the hope of economic independence, to state protection, and finally to a federal tariff were clear, as was the underlying belief in an active government.

The first federal tariff was not very protective, despite the mechanics' efforts.[129] It included protectionist language in its preamble, but the actual tariff rates were lower than those of the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts legislation they replaced. They were more comparable to the mildly protective New York legislation (see table 4.1). The tariff was far weaker than avowedly protectionist

legislation in late-eighteenth-century France or the early-nineteenth-century American tariffs that followed it, which frequently had levels three or more times higher.[130] All told, the 1789 tariff must have been disappointing to most urban mechanics, although those in states such as Maryland, who previously had no protection whatsoever, could take some comfort from it.

After the passage of the tariff of 1789, mechanic protectionism ceased to be an important political movement. There would be occasional petition drives in the future but never as extensive or as influential as those of the 1780s.[131] This drastic decrease in protectionist activity resulted from a combination of factors. Economic conditions would improve in the 1790s, when America prospered as a neutral carrier during the Napoleonic wars, making protection a less urgent issue. The Constitution, which made national tariffs possible, would also make them quite difficult to attain because representatives of manufacturing areas were a small minority in both houses of Congress.[132] With the advent of national political parties in the 1790s, the individual mechanic committees would have less direct influence on elections than they had previously. The coming of the factory system of production in the 1790s, which would soon weaken the mechanics' economic position, would also weaken their political position as larger merchant-manufacturers emerged as the new manufacturing leaders. Finally, the mechanics would lose their natural political leaders, as men like New York's Anthony Post and Baltimore's William Clemm would join forces with the merchant-manufacturers. These men moved away from the politics of protection and toward a new political agenda: encouragement of large-scale manufacturing.

Manufacturing Societies

In 1787, one of the bleak years of the postwar depression, a writer in the *Pennsylvania Herald* observed that "the situation of America . . . is more favorable at present to her growth in wealth, independence, and happiness, than ever it has been." What prompted this improbably sanguine forecast at a time when merchants and mechanics were citing economic hardship as a reason for supporting a new constitution? The correspondent was well aware of the public's lack of confidence in the economy, but he rejected it as based on false assumptions: "The complaints of the decay of trade, are without foundation. It should rather be said, that there is a decay of *traders.* A few merchants are sufficient to import and sell all the goods America requires. Let those of them who complain of hard times betake themselves to the cultivation of the earth, or to the establishment of some useful manufacture. Until ninety-nine of an hundred of the citizens of America are farmers, artificers, or manufacturers, we can never be rich or happy."[1] The problem was not a weak economy but too many merchants.

The next week a group of "friends of American Manufactures," many of them merchants, met at the University of Pennsylvania. They pledged to form a society to promote "manufactures and the useful arts" in the United States.[2] This was the genesis of the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts. The organization promised to address the concerns of the previous week's *Pennsylvania Herald* correspondent, who quite likely was associated with the society, but what did it mean for merchants to turn to manufacturing? More fundamentally, what did it mean to be a manufacturer in the new nation?

Tench Coxe, Merchant-Manufacturer

As the leading figure in the Pennsylvania Society and a tireless, nearly fanatic manufacturing promoter, Tench Coxe was without a doubt the most influential pro-manufacturing merchant in the new nation.[3] Although his career was stained by a changeability that looked like unprincipled opportunism to many, Coxe

maintained a lifelong fidelity to American manufactures. This position resulted partly from his exposure to protectionism during the Revolution and the subsequent depression, partly from his own mercantilistic political economy, and partly from self-interest.

Coxe entered public life in 1775, when as a young man of twenty he paid £10 to subscribe to the United Company of Philadelphia for Promoting American Manufactures.[4] This ambitious project, also known as the American Manufactory, was conceived as a means of obtaining economic independence from Great Britain.[5] Young Coxe's commitment to independence was at best limited, however, for less than two years later he would ride with other Tories and General Cornwallis at the head of a column of British troops coming to occupy Philadelphia, an act that would haunt his later career.[6] The motives for Coxe's actions during the war have never been entirely clear, although his enemies were quick to accuse him of naked self-interest. No doubt there was much truth to this accusation, but Coxe would steadfastly remain a supporter of American manufacturing through the rest of his long career, suggesting some capacity for sincere conviction as well. Probably the American Manufactory and the movement for economic independence served as a way station on Coxe's journey toward acceptance of American independence. As a merchant who was well connected to English trading houses, Coxe would have seen little reason to give up the advantage he had within the British system. He certainly would have viewed it as suicide to break from it without creating new sources of economic development in the New World. Once the break with England was irrevocable and the former colonies began to compete with England rather than to cooperate with the British system, Coxe refocused his economic attention away from the Atlantic and toward the mountains. He developed a strong antipathy toward England and would remain Anglophobic for the rest of his career.[7]

Why did Coxe, who was trained as an overseas merchant, come to identify so strongly with manufacturing, especially when few of his mercantile colleagues shared his passion?[8] The answer may lie partly in his participation in the Philadelphia Merchants' Committee of 1785, which sought solutions to the postwar economic crisis. As one of the merchant leaders in the city's nascent chamber of commerce, Coxe was chosen to be a member of this committee in January 1785.[9] The committee spent the first half of the year futilely opposing the state's plan to issue paper money. Perhaps because of this defeat, it changed strategies and in the spring began to look toward the federal government, petitioning the state assembly to support broader economic powers for Congress.[10]

At the same time, prompted by its new allies, the city's mechanics, Coxe's committee also came to support protective tariffs at the important town meeting of June 20.[11] Two years later Coxe would help form the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts. No doubt his contact with protectionist mechanics on the merchants' committee and at the June 20 meeting was an important influence in his heightened interest in manufactures.

Coxe was more than just a merchant, however. By the mid-1780s he was becoming a speculator in western lands, and this aspect of his career also shaped his political economy. He made his first large land purchases in late 1784 and early 1785, when he bought several thousand acres in western Pennsylvania at the same time that he was serving on the merchants' committee.[12] His comments two years later in his "Address to . . . the Friends of American Manufactures" that "without manufactures agriculture must be arrested on the frontier of Pennsylvania" take on a more self-interested tone in light of this investment.[13] Coxe became a major land speculator in the next decade, purchasing tens of thousands of acres in western Pennsylvania and hundreds of thousands in western Virginia and North Carolina. These lands became his most important investments, and he tenaciously held on to them, at times depriving his children rather than selling them off.[14] His faith in the potential for a balanced economy to enrich these regions was probably a factor in his heavy land speculation, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that his financial interest also prompted him to call for more manufactures, internal improvements, and other forms of economic development to make his lands more valuable. Self-interest and ideology had become inextricably linked.

With the possible exception of Mathew Carey, Coxe was the most important and influential publicist for manufacturing in the early republic. He used his pen to promote manufactures throughout his career both as a civil servant and as a political economist. His biographer has determined that Coxe wrote over fifty important signed and unsigned books and articles between 1784 and 1823, making him "among the most prolific writers of his day."[15] Many of his significant articles were published in the pages of Mathew Carey's *American Museum* between 1787 and 1792. Coxe collaborated closely with Carey in the publication of this important pro-manufacturing journal, and Carey even considered offering Coxe a partnership in the magazine.[16] He was also a silent partner in the influential Philadelphia *Aurora* from 1797 until his political falling out with publisher William Duane in 1804.[17] This newspaper printed an impressive number of anonymous pro-manufacturing pieces in these years, and it is likely that Coxe

wrote some of them. He probably also published similar writings in two lesser Philadelphia newspapers in which he had financial interests at different times.[18] As a government official, he researched and influenced much of Alexander Hamilton's famous *Report on Manufactures*, and he was a congressional adviser on the first federal patent law, styled "An Act to Promote the progress of Useful Arts."[19] He also wrote three State Department reports suggesting ways the federal government might help to create a balanced national economy.[20]

Coxe's political economy was in many ways similar to Mathew Carey's, and there can be little doubt that the two influenced each other.[21] By 1787 Coxe had become convinced of the need for fundamental economic change. He told the founders of the Pennsylvania Society that the states' emergence out of the "colonial situation" led to both a "decline in navigation" and an end to the "artificial impediments" the British system placed on American manufacturing. This combination of economic depression, new opportunities, and the more long-lasting problem of a negative balance of trade, due in part to "wanton consumption of imported luxuries" and a weak government, pointed to the need for domestic manufactures. Coxe's approach differed from the position of most merchants, who hoped to improve the balance of trade by relying on the protection of federal navigation acts to compete more successfully against European shipping rivals. Coxe did not want to eschew trade entirely; he was always careful to explain how manufacturing, trade, and agriculture would harmonize in a balanced economy. Agriculture would serve as its bedrock, and manufacturing and trade would make farming still more productive. According to Coxe, finished goods would be up to ten times more valuable than similar volumes of raw materials.

The most eloquent description of this vision of harmonious cooperation is in Coxe's earliest essay on political economy, "An Enquiry into the Principles on which a Commercial System for the United States of America should be Founded," published as the Constitution was being ratified. Here, in his rhapsodic ideal of the new nation, Coxe would find "in the foreground . . . the mass of our citizens, the cultivators . . . the independent proprietors of the soil." A portion of these farmers' produce would be "consumed in the families [of manufacturers] or employed in the business of our manufactures." Another portion "would be applied in the sustenance of our merchants and fishermen and their numerous assistance [*sic*], and the remainder would be transported by those that could carry it at the lowest freight . . . to the best foreign markets." Manufacturers, for their part, would aid farmers not only by purchasing their produce but also by "supplying them and the rest of their fellow citizens with the instruments

of their occupations." Finally, merchants would "range through foreign climates in search of those supplies, which the manufacturers could not furnish but at too high a price, or which nature has not given us at home."[22] The exchange of raw materials and manufactures between the states would be the "cement" to hold the union together, and even as Britain sought a closer relationship with the new nation through trade, so "the existing friendship of the several parts of the union for each other must be strengthened by similar influences, as they shall be progressively created."[23]

Protection was far less central for Coxe than it was for Carey and the mechanics. Although he was a protectionist, he would rarely advocate specific tariff levels. His vagueness on the issue no doubt reflected his interests as both a merchant and a manufacturing promoter. As a merchant he detested high tariffs when importing foreign goods, and as a manufacturing promoter he adored them when selling American-made products. His position in "An Enquiry into the principles on which a Commercial System for the United States should be Founded" was particularly muddled. He first argued that a small duty of 5 percent would be sufficient, for when the expenses of transatlantic shipping were factored in, it would act like a 25 percent duty, a strong tariff by any standard. Additional duties would only prompt widespread smuggling and "throw upon the other members of the commercial interest and the cultivators and improvers of our lands an unnecessary burden."[24] Later in the same essay he argued that Congress should be able to prevent altogether the importation of goods made of American raw materials when those goods could be produced in sufficient quantity by Americans. These domestic manufactures "ought not by any means to be sacrificed to the interests of foreign trade, or subjected to injury by the wild speculations of ignorant adventurers," he concluded.[25]

Coxe emphatically supported other methods of government encouragement of manufactures that were not nearly as troubling for merchants. A passage in his "Brief Examination of Lord Sheffield's Observations" prefigured the federal Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures, and as Hamilton's assistant he played a central role in founding this institution.[26] Taking Carey's pro-immigrant position one step further, he also occasionally suggested that federal money be used to attract skilled mechanics to America's shores. Also, he was a consistent supporter of government assistance to banks and internal improvements as a means of developing a balanced national economy. His support for tariffs, internal improvements, and banking anticipated Henry Clay's American system, which would link these three elements into "a unique expression of what needed

to be done by the government to benefit all Americans in all sections and among all classes and economic endeavors."[27]

Origins of the Manufacturing Societies

Coxe's Pennsylvania Society marked the beginning of significant merchant interest in manufacturing. Other similar organizations quickly followed in New York, Boston, Baltimore, and many smaller towns.[28] These societies were odd hybrids, part voluntary associations and part industrial corporations. They served as forums for debate about American political economy and as board rooms for new manufacturing projects. Many of the societies did not last long enough actually to produce goods, but those that did began to redefine manufacturing. As the mechanics continued to maintain traditional craft identities in their committees, the new merchant-manufacturers built large factories and employed wage laborers and outworkers rather than apprentices and journeymen. These projects owed more to the precedent of the merchant-led semipublic manufactory houses of the 1760s and English industrialization than to the typical mechanic's shop. In their form they marked a transition between European proto-industrial manufacturing houses and modern factories. Like proto-industrial European projects they hired numerous outworkers to do spinning—several hundred women in Philadelphia. Like more modern factories, they employed some workers, primarily weavers, in their factory houses, which were stocked with innovative examples of labor-saving machinery.[29]

The most important products of the manufacturing societies were not tangible, for many never managed to produce anything for the market at all, but they all succeeded in producing rhetoric, their true legacy. Paul Mantoux, the great historian of industrial capitalism, once observed, "With the factory system a new class, a new social type came into being."[30] The manufacturing societies belie this simple economic determinism. It was their pro-manufacturing rhetoric, more than any economic developments, that created the first examples of a new group of industrial capitalists, men with money to invest in factories but often with little or no manufacturing experience. In this sense, class formation actually preceded industrialization. Ironically, these nascent industrialists would use the protectionist mechanics' own neomercantilistic pro-manufacturing language in this process. Their policy goal, however, would be a new one: encouragement to specific manufactories rather than tariff protection.

The manufacturing societies were directly influenced by mechanic protec-

tionism in several ways. First, they adopted a similar patriotic rhetoric of economic independence. When Americans were a "dependent people" they did not need to make their own goods, but as an independent nation they had to "reject the use of all foreign manufactures which are superfluous," the Pennsylvania Society's managers declared.[31] Second, protection itself created a favorable climate for these societies. Years later Coxe linked the Pennsylvania Society to movements to "modify state and federal revenue laws" in 1787 and 1789.[32] Without a protective tariff, there would have been little hope for such a society. That was one reason why societies in New York and Baltimore, where state protection was weaker, were not formed until after the ratification of the Constitution and passage of the first federal tariff.

Another link between mechanic protectionism and the manufacturing societies was the alliance between merchants and mechanics that developed during the struggle for protection. Philadelphia merchants had first recognized the value of joining forces with the mechanics in 1785, when they placed seven mechanics on their protectionist merchants' committee.[33] Four of the merchants and one of the mechanics on that committee were later active in the Pennsylvania Society.[34] There can be little doubt that working closely with mechanic protectionists pushed Coxe and his fellow merchants to take a closer look at manufacturing. New York and Baltimore merchants also cooperated with protectionist mechanics during the ratification parades. A joint committee of protectionist mechanics and the New York Manufacturing Society began meeting at the same time that the manufacturing society was putting together its constitution. Close contact with their mechanic counterparts may well have had some influence on this society's decision to begin a textile factory. In addition, the mechanics' practical example spurred the formation of these societies. New and enlarged manufacturing establishments undertaken by ambitious mechanics emerged in each city before manufacturing societies were established. In the Philadelphia area, skilled mechanics such as Samuel Wetherill, textile printer John Hewson, and glassmaker Henry William Stiegel all had established manufactories by the 1770s. Philadelphians also could draw on the example of the relatively successful merchant-led American Manufactory. Although New York manufacturing lagged somewhat, by 1787 several new enterprises caught the attention of the merchants who were instrumental in launching the New York Manufacturing Society the next year.[35] Similarly, Baltimore's manufacturing society held its first meeting in 1789 just as new manufactories began to emerge in that city.[36]

The rhetoric and economic activity of urban mechanics were important early

influences in the creation of the manufacturing societies, but once the movement got underway, the various societies also drew on each other for inspiration. Like mechanic protectionism in 1785, the manufacturing society movement transcended city limits. The societies all had similar names. Their constitutions, all reprinted in popular publications shortly after they were founded, had many similar provisions: a large number of shareholders, usually at £10 each; a smaller group of directors to oversee manufacturing operations; and so forth.[37] The similarities were not coincidental; like the mechanics before them, the merchant-manufacturers kept each other apprised of their activities through an informal national network. In its constitution the Pennsylvania Society vowed to "hold itself in duty bound, to correspond and steadily co-operate, with such institutions as now are, or hereafter shall be established in other of the United States," and the Boston society made a similar pledge. The New York society was aware of the Philadelphians' successful efforts to gain aid from the state, even citing them as a precedent when they later appealed to the New York State Assembly for similar assistance.[38]

Social Composition of the Manufacturing Societies

Merchants dominated the manufacturing societies. This was the most obvious way they diverged from the mechanic protectionist committees, which had no merchants among their members. The manufacturing societies did, however, admit a few mechanics. They tended to be the richest, most prominent, and most politically active mechanics, many of whom had strong ties to merchants, and some of whom were themselves large-scale importers of foreign goods. These men were most useful to the manufacturing societies as overseers of the actual factory operations, but as such they were subordinate to the merchants.

In New York and Philadelphia, merchant was by far the most common occupation for manufacturing fund subscribers. In Philadelphia they made up 28 percent of the total and in New York, 30 percent.[39] Mechanics, although far more numerous than merchants in the urban population generally, were less numerous as manufacturing society subscribers, in part because it cost £10 to subscribe, a very significant sum for the average mechanic. Although mechanics of various sorts accounted for 30 percent of the New York subscribers, and 18 percent of those in Philadelphia, no single mechanic trade contributed more than five members to either society and most were represented by a single subscriber each. The few trades with any significant presence on the subscription rolls tended to be

Table 5.1. Most Common Occupations of Manufacturing Society Subscribers

Philadelphia	New York
1. Merchant (28%)	1. Merchant (30%)
2. Esquire/gentleman (13%)	2. Storekeeper (9%)
3. Government official (9%)	3. Lawyer (5%)
3. Grocer (9%)	3. Printer/bookseller (5%)
5. Shopkeeper (6%)	3. Grocer (5%)
6. Ironmonger (3%)	
6. Minister (3%)	
6. Druggist (3%)	

Note: Percentages calculated based on number of subscribers whose occupations could be identified in city directories, 105 for Philadelphia and 110 for New York.

luxury trades, such as coach makers and clockmakers, or printers, whose occupation conferred on them some political prominence. Mechanics who subscribed to the manufacturing societies were also much wealthier than average.[40] In short, they represented the uppermost stratum of the master mechanic population.

The boards of directors of the manufacturing societies also were merchant-dominated. In Philadelphia, 45 percent of the directors of the Pennsylvania Society were merchants, as was one-quarter of the manufacturing committee that managed factory operations. In New York, 31 percent of the manufacturing society's directors were merchants, as were 42 percent in Baltimore. Other directors tended to be well-to-do or prominent in the community, with lawyers, doctors, government officials, and shopkeepers well represented. In some cases, the directors were linked by political affiliation, but for the most part the manufacturing societies followed a policy of nonpartisanship. Even in Philadelphia, where the manufacturing society was tied to the state Republicans, the directorate of 1787 contained a few exceptions, most notably David Rittenhouse and Frederick Kuhl.[41] In New York, prominent antifederalists George Clinton and Melancton Smith and federalists John Jay and Alexander Hamilton all subscribed to the manufacturing society, and Jay and Smith both served as directors. Although the majority of the directors of the Baltimore society would soon become Republicans, one, Harry Dorsey, was a prominent Federalist.

Rather than politics, the common link for many of these directors appears to have been temperament. Most were activists and improvers. They tended to join forward-looking causes and to favor innovation. Antislavery was an important cause for many. At least four of the Baltimore directors and two in Philadelphia

belonged to antislavery societies.[42] Many of the Philadelphians also were members of the American Philosophical Society and the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture.[43] Others belonged to associations to promote internal improvements and banks, two additional economic improvements frequently viewed as necessary for the development of an economically independent nation.[44] Still others were amateur inventors and scientists. Thomas Armat of Philadelphia obtained a patent for developing improved hay scales, and Francis Gurney, also of Philadelphia, developed an improved method of securing buoys and beacons.[45] Richard Caton of Baltimore was an amateur geologist.[46]

Several of the directors dealt with manufactures during their Revolutionary War experience. George Keeports, of Baltimore, was a purchasing agent during the Revolution who bought textiles, buttons, and shoes, among other things; his fellow Baltimorean, James Calhoun, who served as deputy commissary for the continental army, presumably had to procure similar items.[47] Both must have received a thorough education in the extent and availability of American manufactures during the war. The manufacturing society merchants also invested in other similar projects. Fourteen of the New York Manufacturing Society's subscribers, including three directors, invested in Alexander Hamilton's Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures (SUM).[48] In addition, eleven New York subscribers and three directors invested in the Connecticut Manufacturing Society. These men, according to James Watson, were merely "speculating for a rise" in the Connecticut company, which appears to have been more a get-rich-quick stock scheme than a serious manufacturing effort. The society never manufactured a thing, nor did it apply for a charter.[49]

A number of well-to-do and well-connected mechanics brought a measure of practical knowledge to the manufacturing societies' boards of directors. Many, such as James Pearson of Philadelphia, William Clemm of Baltimore, and William Gilbert of New York, had also been prominent leaders in the mechanic protectionist movement. Pearson, a carpenter, sat on the pro-boycott committee of 1779 and led the mechanics' committee that advised the Pennsylvania state legislature on the tariff of 1785. In addition, he was a captain in the city's Sixth Artillery Company and a member of the Amicable Library.[50] William Clemm, a coppersmith, was both a member of Baltimore's revolutionary Mechanical Company and a Son of Liberty before playing a prominent role in the protectionist Committee of Tradesmen and Manufacturers. He also served on the committee to welcome George Washington to Baltimore in 1788.[51] New York silversmith William Gilbert was twice chosen as the silversmiths' representative

for the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen. He played an active part in the joint mechanic-manufacturers' committee of 1788 and even received a £100 loan from the General Society in 1790, presumably due to temporary financial setbacks (by 1815 he was worth over $46,000). He went on to have an impressive political career, serving as a city alderman for five years and as state assemblyman for seven years between 1789 and 1808.[52]

As much of the old mechanic leadership joined with the merchant-dominated manufacturing societies, the lines between mechanic and merchant blurred. The majority of the mechanics on the boards of directors of the manufacturing societies also took part in mercantile activities as exporters and importers. In Philadelphia, paper-mould and wire-works manufacturer Nathan Sellars imported large quantities of wire from London and Germany. Papermaker Mark Wilcox, who inherited his father's large paper mill, also was a partner with his brother-in-law in the mercantile firm of Flahaven and Wilcox from 1784 to 1793. Druggists Charles and Christopher Marshall were involved in imports and exports, as well as in several Maryland forges and iron furnaces.[53] New York brewer White Matlack was an iron manufacturer and a close financial associate of New York's most infamous merchant, William Duer, whose wild speculations and subsequent bankruptcy caused a serious financial panic in 1792.[54]

The economic activities of Samuel Wetherill provide some insight into the blurring of merchant and manufacturing activity and the resulting contradictions. Born in 1736, Wetherill began his career in Philadelphia as a carpenter. Although he was also a Quaker preacher, he actively supported the Revolution and was one of the leaders of the pro-Revolutionary Free Quaker movement. His support for the war effort led to his participation as a manager of the patriotic American Manufactory project in 1775, which, in turn, gave him the experience needed to open his own textile manufactory in 1776. He soon began making dyes and related chemicals needed for textile making, ultimately creating the firm of Wetherill and Sons, specialists in lead products, which survived as a family-owned business well into the twentieth century.[55]

By 1789 Wetherill had begun actively to import white lead, paints, glass, and other materials from Europe. He played his English suppliers against the Germans, writing in 1791 to an English firm, "When we wrote you last spring we had a prospect of importing from you window glass as well as bottles, since then we find that window glass equal in quality is imported from Germany much lower than from Bristol."[56] Only three years earlier he had drafted a Pennsylvania Society report urging the development of American industry to ease "our late

dependence on foreign nations for many of the most useful articles in life."[57] Wetherill could easily be accused of hypocrisy for preaching national economic self-sufficiency just as he was becoming an aggressive importer of European goods. But the conflict between rhetoric and economic activity also underscores the tenuous nature of American manufacturing; even its strongest proponents were dependent on imported raw materials. Whether Wetherill is viewed as hypocrite or patriotic pioneer, and surely he was a bit of both, what is most clear is that domestic manufacturing was much more tightly linked to imports than its proponents liked to admit, and these linkages served to blur the traditional designations of "mechanic" and "merchant."

There is some evidence that not all mechanics were comfortable with merchant control of the manufacturing societies. An unusually contentious election for the directorship of the New York Manufacturing Society in 1790 reveals some divisions between the merchant majority and the minority with manufacturing experience. On March 11, a list of candidates for the twelve directorships was printed in the *Daily Advertiser*. With only three exceptions they were sitting directors of the manufacturing society or the parent Society for Encouraging Manufactures. Several days later a new slate of candidates emerged, apparently reflecting the insurgent efforts of a group with stronger ties to manufacturing. This group called itself "regularly-bred manufacturers" to differentiate itself from the mercantile establishment ticket.[58] Although most of these insurgents, like the sitting directors, were merchants by profession, several, including William Gilbert (who appeared on both tickets), stocking and fringe manufacturer Henry Pope, and ironmonger William Shotwell, had strong ties to manufacturing.[59] Their attempted coup may have been prompted by problems with the company's new machinery that the sitting directors apparently were unable to correct. At any rate, their effort failed and the old guard maintained control of the company.[60] Some popular mistrust of manufacturing societies can also be seen in a newspaper piece by "A carman" questioning the New York society's right to issue scrip and in criticism of the directors of Hamilton's SUM (many of whom were also involved in the New York Manufacturing Society) as "stock gamblers."[61] Similarly, a newspaper correspondent who described himself as a "friend to manufactures" expressed fear that the long-winded and well-heeled orators of the Pennsylvania Society were turning it into "a sporting club, for the benefit of merchants and lawyers."[62]

Economic Ideology

The economic ideology of the merchant-led manufacturing societies was strikingly similar to that of the protectionist mechanics. Both emphasized the need for a strong and active government role in the economy. They shared an affinity for systematic economic planning, an emphasis on ensuring a positive balance of trade, and a belief in the need for harmony among economic sectors. These similarities no doubt made the mechanics more comfortable with the manufacturing societies and less confrontational than they might otherwise have been.

The merchant-manufacturers argued that just as the new nation had achieved political independence, it must now achieve economic independence. They were motivated, according to Tench Coxe, "by an ardent wish to promote every measure that will give to our newborn states the strength of manhood." Samuel Miles also linked masculinity and economic independence when he urged the managers of the Pennsylvania Society to show, by using American manufactures, "no less virtue in the character of citizens, than firmness in asserting your rights as men; and that you are worthy by your wisdom, of holding that station, as an independent people, which you have acquired by your courage."[63] The implicit contrast between self-sufficient masculine mechanics producing American goods and the perceived dependent femininity of imported luxuries added a gendered element to their insistence on linking domestic manufacturing to economic independence.[64]

What was needed for true independence was a new national economic system, or so the merchant-manufacturers argued. Coxe put it most cogently at the inaugural meeting of the Pennsylvania Society: "To arrange our affairs in salutary and well-digested *systems*, by which the fruits of industry, in every line, may be most easily attained, and the possession of property and the blessings of liberty may be completely secured—these are the important objects that should engross our present attention."[65] Much as the goal of the British system had been to keep a positive balance of trade through imperial self-sufficiency, the object of the American system would be national self-sufficiency. America was peculiarly suited to this end thanks to its abundant natural resources, all "the materials of the useful arts, and articles of consumption and commerce . . . the variety of natural productions with which this extensive country abounds."[66] As good mercantilists, the merchant-manufacturers were quick to show that this self-sufficiency would improve the new nation's balance of trade and "finally oblige the nations of Europe to refund the wealth they have lately drawn from us."[67] It

would thereby ensure true independence "by rescuing us from the tyranny of foreign fashions, and the destructive torrent of luxury."[68] Such a program of national self-sufficiency must have seemed especially appealing during the postwar commercial depression, and it is perhaps a measure of the desperation of those years that merchants would advocate it, for in normal times their economic role would be greatly diminished were overseas trade to be reduced drastically.

By creating and financing manufacturing projects, these merchants would move some of their capital into a new, potentially vibrant economic activity, but they justified manufacturing not so much on these grounds as for the *public* benefits it would create. This strategy fit well with the republican emphasis on public virtue, and it continued the tried and true mercantilistic argument that manufacturing was the best way of ensuring widespread employment for the industrious poor. As the subscription committee for the New York Manufacturing Society told potential donors in the winter of 1789, "To employ the poor (particularly at this inclement season) is an object really charitable. . . . The industrious poor feel a pride in supporting themselves."[69]

Yet the manufacturing societies sometimes appeared less than devoted to this idea. In his inaugural address to the Pennsylvania Society, Coxe occasionally used the employment argument, but he was far more animated on the subject of automated factories that "are not burdened with any heavy expense of boarding, lodging, clothing, and paying workmen." These factories might have provided more agricultural jobs by using American-produced raw materials, but it is difficult to see how they would have assisted the industrious urban poor. In addition, Coxe hoped that skilled European workmen would soon emigrate to seek jobs in American factories, and this competition would further narrow the job opportunities for American workers. The philosophical contradictions between the desires to employ the local poor and to use labor-saving machinery were mitigated, for the time being, by the primitive state of American technology. When only a few activities were mechanized, it created more work for skilled laborers in nonmechanized fields. For example, if the society's machines could card and spin massive quantities of thread, they would "offer immediate employment to our stocking weavers in Mulberry Ward and Germantown," who used the thread to produce a finished product. In fact, they provided work for at least twenty-nine skilled men, who, in a good month, could earn £5 for their labor and for hundreds of women outworker spinners.[70] Still, the contradictions in the employment argument would become more significant with improved technology and more ominous for skilled mechanics.

The argument that manufactures created national wealth and a positive balance of trade, also a staple of mercantilist thought, seemed safer at this juncture, and rang truer when used by the merchant-manufacturers. When Samuel Miles proclaimed, "We feel an hourly diminution of our wealth and the support of our labourers is becoming precarious and difficult," he implied that manufacturing would keep wealth at home and, as the proverbial rising tide, perhaps also raise the boat of labor.[71] This wealth creation argument dominated the long preamble to the society's constitution, although "the better employment of the industrious poor" was mentioned as the purpose of the manufacturing fund in Article VIII. The Bostonians also shied away from the poor relief argument, emphasizing instead the "ruinous expense" Americans incurred in "unnecessary importations" that could be replaced by domestic manufactures. The Baltimoreans stressed the need for "internal manufactures," while the New York society's constitution used both the employment and wealth arguments.

The merchant-manufacturers were careful to show that their vision of national self-sufficiency through manufacturing also would benefit the farmers in what was still an overwhelmingly agricultural country. "In the success of such institutions, the planter and farmer are equally interested with the manufacturer," wrote the New Yorkers. Samuel Miles elaborated on this thought when he noted that "a constant demand for the productions of our lands cannot be secured without manufacturing towns to consume them" and that reliance on exporting surplus farm goods "is a precarious dependence in our present circumstances."[72] The Pennsylvania Society offered a series of premiums for such agricultural products as hemp, flax, and cotton that were needed for textile making.[73] The basic argument, that agriculture and manufacturing should be joined productively into a self-sufficient national economy, was quite similar to the point made by the mechanics marching in the ratification parades. Unlike the mechanics, however, the merchants were not yet producers and their place in this developing system was still not clear.

The merchant-manufacturers also echoed the tenets of the British system and mechanic protectionism when they predicted a regional division of labor for their system. The New Yorkers explicitly linked northern farmers and manufacturers and southern planters into a national system: "This state produces the raw materials of flax, hemp and wool; the southern states produce considerable quantities of cotton, and if those raw materials can be manufactured amongst ourselves, it will keep the money in constant circulation at home, as well as furnish employment to a vast number of people, and train up our youths to habits of in-

dustry."[74] If successful, this plan promised to fulfill the Boston mechanics' earlier hopes that "the northern states might furnish many articles of manufactures which are now imported from Europe; and in return might receive those supplies peculiar to the growth and climate of the southern."[75]

Though much of their rhetoric was similar to that of the mechanics, the merchant-manufacturers nonetheless diverged in significant ways from the mechanic protectionists' model. Talk of grandiose manufactories employing hundreds of people or using expensive technologically sophisticated machinery was absent from the rhetoric of the protectionist mechanics, who still hewed to older traditions in the formation of their societies along craft divisions and, frequently, in their manufacturing techniques as well. Bigger plans required more money, so the manufacturing societies also looked to the states for more assistance. "Manufactories," wrote a correspondent to the *Pennsylvania Journal*, "require not only protecting duties but encouraging bounties." The merchant-manufacturers firmly agreed with this wisdom, and they sought many forms of encouragement from the state above and beyond mere protective tariffs. Tench Coxe called for the state to exempt raw materials from duties, to pay premiums for useful inventions and raw materials, and even to give large tracts of state land to promising inventors.[76] His Pennsylvania Society successfully petitioned for a law to forbid the exportation of manufacturing machinery after someone allegedly sold Philadelphia carding and spinning machines to a British agent. As a precedent the society's petition cited laws in other countries that inflicted "severe and heavy penalties on those who seduced an artist to emigrate into foreign countries or who export the implements and machines for the better carrying on [of] manufactures."[77] The state legislature also bought £1,000 worth of the company's stock in "an act to assist the cotton manufactures of this state."[78] Similarly, the state of New York purchased £1,000 in the New York Manufacturing Society's stock.[79]

Finally, both the New York and Baltimore companies sought incorporation from their respective states.[80] In the late eighteenth century incorporation was far from the routine process it would become. Before the advent of general statutes of incorporation, it signified state support and could easily be denied by legislative bodies, who were alert to some public mistrust of corporations. In addition, corporate status often conferred material benefits on companies, such as exemptions from taxation, lottery privileges, and even loans or state stock subscription.[81] All these forms of encouragement—loans, grants, subscriptions, bounties, incorporation, and other legislation—were available to the influential

leaders of these large-scale manufacturing projects. Whereas protective duties benefited all manufacturers of the same sorts of goods equally, these forms of encouragement benefited only a select few. The manufacturing societies argued that this type of state encouragement was only temporary, that "so soon as the body of the people are convinced [manufacturing] is profitable and useful, they will of course undertake [it] themselves," that is, without state encouragement.[82] In fact, incorporation would increasingly become standard practice for large manufacturing companies in the coming decades.

Protectionism Declines

The new manufacturing societies became the most active manufacturing promoters after 1789, supplanting the older mechanic committees. The minutes of New York's General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen show that protection was never a topic of discussion from 1790 to 1799, and in all four of the nation's largest cities the mechanic committees dropped out of the public discussion of manufacturing during this period. The reasons for their absence were basically twofold. First, emerging divisions within the mechanic community made it increasingly difficult for them to act as a unified body as they had before 1790. Second, with an improving economy, some protective tariffs, and increased obstacles to new legislation, this was not the most propitious time to push for protection.

Conflict between journeymen and masters erupted with an intensity previously unknown in America between 1791 and 1794. In these three years there were at least ten journeymen actions in the four leading cities (see table 5.2).[83] In New York alone there were a half dozen journeymen actions from 1791 to 1793. These disputes typically centered on both wages and issues of workplace control. For example, in 1792 New York's journeymen shoemakers refused to work for masters who hired journeymen who did not belong to their association, which was attempting to set a series of wage regulations for masters to follow.[84] The journeymen defended this action on the grounds that wages had not risen for three years and that "master shoemakers, when trade is brisk, to serve their own ends employ indifferent workmen upon customary work, which is an infringement upon our articles and a detriment to the public in general."[85] These "indifferent workmen" may well have been apprentices, "journeymen" who had no real training, or even women, for another common journeyman complaint during this period was that masters relied too heavily on these forms of cheap

Table 5.2. Journeyman Actions

Year	Action
1791	New York journeymen shoemakers want higher wages (*New York Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 11, 1791, p. 2). Philadelphia journeymen carpenters want higher wages, shorter workdays (John Commons, *History of Labor in the United States* [New York; Macmillan, 1926–35]1: 110).
1792	New York journeymen tailors for higher wages, no more women employed (*Daily Advertiser* July 23, 1792, p. 3). New York journeymen shoemakers will not work with men not associated with their body. (*Daily Advertiser* Aug. 9, 1792, p. 3). New York Associated Body of House Carpenters want 7 s. per day, wage arbitration (*Daily Advertiser* Nov. 23, 1792, p. 3).
1793	New York Associated Body of House Carpenters want 9 s. per day, wage arbitration (*Daily Advertiser* March 5, 1793, p. 3). New York, Old York Carpenters want 1 s. more per day in wages (*Daily Advertiser* May 18, 1793, p. 2).
1794	Baltimore hatters oppose wage hike because it will limit amount of work available (*Maryland Journal* March 10, 1794, p. 2; Charles G. Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984] 104). Baltimore cordwainers want higher wages, apprentices for journeymen (*Maryland Journal* July 9, 1794, pp. 2–3; Steffen, 114–116). Baltimore tailors want higher wages (Steffen, 116–118).

labor.[86] Baltimore's journeymen hatters actually protested against a wage *hike*, arguing that the masters were only setting higher prices for journeymen because they planned to use more apprentices instead.[87]

These developments also created some conflict among the masters themselves, especially between the more well-established and their younger counterparts. During the New York shoemakers' strike, a master named Henry Hays was targeted by the other masters for violating their hiring agreement. Hays defended his actions, citing his suspicions that the masters hoped "to frustrate the business of young beginners" by focusing on his activities when other, older employers had operated in the same fashion without being singled out for criticism. Similarly, Baltimore's journeymen hatters hinted at a conspiracy of the master hatters who relied on apprentices' labor "to engross the whole trade in their own hands" by keeping "those masters, who have not apprentices, from getting journeymen."[88] These divisions within the mechanic house no doubt hindered them

from standing together to pursue pro-manufacturing political economy as they had earlier.

In addition, with the onset of the first party system, political divisions also beset the mechanics. Whereas mechanics had been fairly united under the banner of federalism through most of the 1780s, the 1790s were a period of transition, during which they gradually moved toward republicanism. Political divisions during the transitional period mirrored master/journeymen divisions to some extent. As Alfred Young noted in his study of New York mechanics, "At the end of the second Washington administration . . . the Federalists retained a good section of the 'substantial mechanics' while the Republicans had the 'middling and poorer classes' in an unstable constituency."[89] In order to avoid these divisions, the mechanic societies tried to remove themselves entirely from politics. For instance, New York's General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen resolved in 1793 that it was "repugnant to our objects as a society to have anything to do with public elections."[90]

A third form of divisiveness pitted craft against craft. This conflict was particularly apparent after the passage of the federal tariff of 1789, when various mechanics began to argue that importation of the raw materials needed for their operations must not be taxed because they could not yet be supplied domestically.[91] Baltimore congressman Samuel Smith, for example, attempted to lower the federal tariff on imported bar iron. In justifying his efforts, Smith praised Congress for passing the generally "very wisely calculated" tariffs. He added that the bar iron duty, however, was an unfortunate exception, for it resulted in "mechanics and others having occasion for this necessary article" being forced to purchase it at home, and the price of a ton of iron consequently had shot up by £11. This alleged price gouging was due to the behavior of the "iron-masters," who, "being few in number, easily communicated with each other, and by combination raised the price of their iron to what they pleased," thereby forcing the price of domestically made nails higher than that of imports.[92] The conflict between iron makers and nail makers shows that while the tariff as an abstract ideal could unite the manufacturing interests, its practical consequences could just as easily divide them.

Beyond these internal divisions, developments external to the mechanics also militated against coordinated protectionist activity. Under the new Constitution, all petitions for protective duties had to be approved by Congress rather than the states, and the federal government proved unresponsive to requests for alterations in the tariff schedule.[93] Reflecting the new emphasis on craft divisions

within the mechanic community, these petitions generally were submitted by a single trade or small group of individuals in a single city, a clear contrast to the petitions of 1785–89, which had been presented as the united efforts of umbrella organizations from all the major cities.[94] In addition to the apparent futility of petitioning Congress, an upturn in the urban economy beginning around 1789 made protection a less urgent issue for most mechanics, who were able to participate in the general prosperity. These developments, and the fact that the manufacturing societies now appeared to be effectively advocating much of the mechanics' pro-manufacturing agenda, no doubt convinced the bulk of mechanics that they could now relax and allow others to make the case for American manufactures. By so doing, however, they allowed the merchant-manufacturers to become the new spokesmen for manufacturing and to redefine the issue in ways that ultimately would not be congenial to most mechanics.

Demise of the Manufacturing Societies

The manufacturing societies proved less adept at making textiles than at spinning rhetoric. Ironically, considering the directors' mercantile backgrounds, the fundamental failure seems to have been financial rather than technical. With the exception of the abortive Boston society, most achieved some proficiency in producing goods for sale.[95] The Pennsylvania Society was by far the most productive, turning out over 11,000 yards of jean, corduroy, cotton, linen, and other textiles in its first year of operation alone.[96] By the winter of 1790 the New York Manufacturing Society was producing a variety of linen and cotton fabrics and thread, although production appears to have slowed in subsequent months.[97] The Baltimore manufactory also produced, for a very short time, cotton jeans, fustians, and other fabrics.[98]

Despite these well-publicized successes, the manufacturing societies were in trouble almost from the start. Their most pressing problem was a lack of ready cash to meet large payrolls. The best documentation is for the Pennsylvania Society, whose directors crowed that "this new and untried business has, in the first essay of an inexperienced but a judicious and attentive committee, produced a profit, at the rate of thirty percent per annum on the active capital."[99] Safely out of public view, the minutes of the "attentive committee" to oversee factory operations were taking on an increasingly desperate tone. Although the project attracted nearly £15,000 in pledges from subscribers, it was a continual struggle to collect the money.[100] By July 1788 this problem was producing troubling cash

shortages. By October the committee feared they would be unable to pay the workmen unless the tardy subscribers paid up immediately.[101] The next February the committee decided it would have to sell some unfinished textiles at a loss in order to ease the cash shortage.[102] In the following months an $800 bank loan and the £1,000 subscription from the state coupled with a new policy of paying workmen in part with factory goods rather than cash wages brought some relief.[103] Growing labor unrest and the unreliability of the project's major sources of capital—the subscriptions and the state money—did not augur well for the troubled factory.[104]

Although not as well documented, the New York and Baltimore projects appear to have suffered from similar problems. By January 1790 the New York manufactory, having hired nearly 150 workers, sent an urgent appeal for subscribers to pay up, their money being "indispensably necessary" for the factory operations.[105] In August they began to issue scrip redeemable for factory goods or cash, apparently as a means of avoiding direct cash payments to workers.[106] The Baltimore company experienced a cash crisis in December 1789 due to "a large proportion of the money already paid in being invested in machinery and implements."[107]

Ultimately, the New York and Philadelphia projects ended in disaster, while the Baltimore company seems to have just faded away.[108] Although the New York factory was described by early 1792 as "gradually declining" and "now almost extinct," the bankruptcy of William Duer, the city's (and perhaps the nation's) most notorious speculator, provided its finale. Duer was a major subscriber to the factory, and his bankruptcy not only brought down other important subscribers, most notably White Matlack and John Pintard, but also caused a citywide financial panic.[109] By April 1793 the factory's buildings, machinery, and stock were advertised for sale, and in January of the next year they were offered up for public auction.[110] The Philadelphia factory suffered an even more spectacular demise when fire destroyed it in the spring of 1790. There was some suspicion but no real evidence that the fire was deliberately set, perhaps by a dissatisfied worker.[111]

Although the manufacturing societies were economic failures, the movement to encourage manufactures was by and large a propaganda success. The societies' stated aim was not so much to make money (although they would have liked to) as to pave the way for the later success of what the Philadelphians termed "private" manufactories, as opposed to the semipublic manufacturing societies.[112] While the examples they set were far from inspirational, these societies did at

least show that the technology and natural resources for large-scale American textile making was at hand. The onset of the Napoleonic wars, which provided lucrative trade opportunities for merchants by the mid-1790s, obscured this lesson, but when trade entered another period of decline early in the next century, merchants would return to manufacturing with renewed vigor.

More importantly, the manufacturing societies were extraordinarily successful in redefining the meaning of manufacturing. Americans had, of course, been well aware of the movement to promote manufacturing since the 1760s. That aspect of the manufacturing societies' message was not new. Prior to the societies, however, manufacturing was viewed as the activity of mechanics. Some had undertaken quite ambitious projects, but most operated in a more or less traditional manner: hiring only a few employees, running the business themselves, and expecting no special favors from the state (though it is unlikely they would have minded had they received them). The merchant-manufacturers, by contrast, introduced new and exotic technologies, hired hundreds of workmen, formed corporations run largely by financial experts, and depended on grants and incorporations from the state. This was a new paradigm for manufacturing, and although it had not proven itself in the marketplace in the 1790s, it had begun to insinuate itself into the national consciousness.

Epilogue: Alexander Hamilton's Society

Toward the end of the manufacturing society movement, in late 1791, the state of New Jersey incorporated the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures, the SUM. This well-known project was the practical demonstration of the ideas embodied in the even better known *Report on Manufactures.* Both the company and the report were products of the collaboration between Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton and his assistant, Tench Coxe.[113] It should be obvious by now that neither the company nor the report were particularly original, for they both reflected the ideas and practices of the manufacturing society movement, and, of course, Tench Coxe played a major role in both. However, because the SUM was a far larger and more ambitious project than its predecessors, because it was national in scope, because it involved the new federal government, and, perhaps, because it came at a time when the aims of the manufacturing societies had become more obvious to the public, it served as a lightning rod for criticism.

The continuities between the SUM and earlier manufacturing societies went

far beyond the presence of Tench Coxe. The rhetoric of national economic independence and self-sufficiency that all the manufacturing societies employed was also prominent in the SUM. It was present in the first lines of Hamilton's prospectus for the SUM: "The establishment of manufactures in the United States when maturely considered will be found to be of the highest importance to their prosperity. It seems an almost self evident proposition that communities which can most completely supply their own wants are in a state of the highest political perfection."[114] Furthermore, the financial problems of the earlier societies—undercapitalization and shortages of cash—were no doubt a factor in prompting the extensive discussion of how to finance the SUM, and the crafting of the rather involved funding plan was Hamilton's major contribution to the endeavor.[115] The practical result of Hamilton's innovations was that the SUM began operations with over $600,000 in subscriptions, enabling it to act on a far larger scale than any of its predecessors.[116]

The SUM resembled those predecessors in its political economy, although Hamilton moved even further away from protection and closer toward other forms of government encouragement than had the supporters of earlier projects. On this issue there appears to have been some conflict between Coxe, who wanted a balanced program of protective tariffs and more direct forms of government encouragement, and Hamilton, who wanted to rely nearly exclusively on encouragement through government bounties.[117] Hamilton's fiscal system was fundamentally opposed to protective tariffs for two reasons. First, it relied on revenue from moderate import duties. Protective tariffs, which were designed to keep foreign goods out, could not coexist with tariffs for revenue. Second, one of Hamilton's major goals was to secure merchant support for the new government. Protective tariffs would only serve to alienate these men, who relied on importing and exporting for their livelihoods.[118] Because of these concerns, Hamilton was even less friendly to protection than were Coxe and the merchant-manufacturers.

Though the SUM did not prompt new protective tariffs, it received an extraordinary amount of government encouragement thanks largely to the political influence of its directors. The federal government gave it no direct aid, but Hamilton's funding scheme, which required subscriptions to the project to be in government securities, ensured that the credit of the United States would stand behind the SUM.[119] An extensive package of more immediately tangible benefits came from the state of New Jersey, under which the project was incorporated. The state subscribed $10,000 to the project. It also exempted SUM employees

from certain taxes and military service, exempted its property from taxation for ten years, allowed the managers to raise up to $100,000 through lotteries, gave them powers of eminent domain to create canals and dredge rivers, and granted them a municipal charter for the borough of Paterson, real estate sales in which were to provide the project with further capital.[120]

The SUM's understanding of the nature of manufacturing was essentially the same as the manufacturing societies'. Production was to be large scale. In fact, the grandiose plans developed by the project architect, Major Pierre l'Enfant, so overextended the SUM's resources that it nearly failed before producing any goods whatsoever. As in the earlier societies, merchants were, for the most part, in control. William Duer, the speculator whose bankruptcy brought down the New York Manufacturing Society, became the company's first governor, shortly before his financial collapse. He was not the only New York Manufacturing Society subscriber active in the project; the most complete list of shareholders and directors of the SUM shows that roughly 20 percent had also subscribed to the earlier project, and four had served on its board of directors.[121] Like the manufacturing societies, the SUM also intended to rely heavily on machinery and immigrant labor. Hamilton also stressed the necessity of employing skilled workers from Europe, although he added that some "workmen of secondary merit" could be found in the United States.[122]

Not surprisingly, aspects of this plan prompted heated public debate. Historians have commonly framed this debate as part of a larger contestation over whether the new nation would be essentially agrarian (republican, virtuous, clean) or industrial (capitalistic, exploitative, dirty).[123] In fact, the oppositions were not quite so simple. Although some opponents of the SUM may have disapproved of manufacturing altogether, many others supported manufacturing generally but opposed the specifics of the Hamilton / Coxe program. This was not so much a debate over the existence of manufacturing, but an argument over the nature of manufacturing itself—how it was to be defined and what it would mean for the new republic.

What most frightened the opponents of the SUM was its proposed size. Such a large project could gain unfair advantages by wielding inordinate influence over the market for raw materials and through its power in the halls of government. Thus, "A Mechanic" in Connecticut wrote the newspaper to complain that Congress was "building large manufactories at the expense of government, which will create an influx of wares to our detriment." This new "Birmingham and Manchester" would "take the business out of the hands of those already engaged in

the arts" and lead to "monopolies in the manufacturing line."[124] George Logan, president of the Germantown Society for Domestic Manufacturing, expressed similar fears in an address to that society, warning them that Hamilton's plan to "establish national manufactories" would use the power of the state to create an unfair monopoly to reduce those "who are personally engaged in manufactures" to poverty.[125]

Logan's address prompted a supporter of the SUM to assure the public that the federal government intended to encourage *all* sorts of manufacturing, not just the SUM. The problem, he said, was merely a misunderstanding over Hamilton's *Report on Manufactures:* "It appears . . . that the words 'manufacturing establishments' have misled you. By the word establishments is clearly meant, every manufacturing workshop, great or small, owned by one or many persons. This is rendered too plain to require any argument or anything but due attention; for [Hamilton] says [in the report] that the bounties proposed, for an encouragement to those establishments, should be allowed to every person carrying on manufactures as a regular trade."[126] Logan's and the other complaints did not come from the opponents of manufacturing per se. They came, rather, from small producers—urban mechanics and rural home-manufacturers—who feared, as one Bostonian put it, that Congress was creating an "extensive monopoly" that was "calculated to draw into its vortex all the labouring manufacturers in the United States, which will effectually deprive individuals in the different states of all the advantages arising from any particular manufactures that may be pursued with advantage or profit to individuals, and with less danger to the rights and liberties of the people."[127]

Some farmers and mechanics also feared that the size of the project would give it control over the market for raw materials, thereby injuring planters as well as mechanics. "The yeomanry of America," wrote one such critic, "only desire what they have a right to demand—a free unrestricted sale for the produce of their own industry." Logan's warning that the SUM would monopolize raw materials prompted a defender of the project to accuse him of being "disposed to alarm the hatters and tanners with the suggestions that their raw materials may be engrossed and made the objects of speculation."[128] Again, these critics were not opposed to manufacturing, only to the prospect of being shut out of it by an inordinately large project that might gain a monopoly with unfair government support.

Finally, many critics associated the SUM with "speculation" and its related dangers. Such concerns clearly were not unfounded, considering Hamilton's ef-

forts to attract merchant speculation to the project and his appointment of Duer as its first governor. Hamilton's desire was to tame the wild speculators of the early 1790s by attaching them more firmly to the new government and directing their capital into a useful project, but these subtleties did not convince his critics.[129] According to one of them, the project was little more than the plan of a "speculating Congress" intent on serving "certain rich speculators." Another wrote, sarcastically, that "the spirit of patriotism" had motivated "the disinterested minds of stock gamblers" to launch the SUM.[130]

The criticism of the SUM might be applied more generally to the manufacturing societies' vision. These merchant-manufacturers all looked forward to a day when American manufacturing would be conducted on a large scale in factories owned by corporations and controlled by financiers able to gain support from the state. Other projects may not have been as large or as threatening as the SUM, but they were limited by the financial straightjacket they struggled against in the new republic rather than by voluntary restraints. What the SUM did was to bring their vision to the national stage.

CHAPTER SIX

Agricultural Societies

The same new nation that gave rise to manufacturing societies without many manufacturers also produced agricultural societies with few farmers. As the Revolution gave way to economic distress, urban leaders and a few gentlemen farmers joined together to sow these societies throughout the United States. In many cases the same men who founded the agricultural societies also started the manufacturing societies, and in all cases they expected the two types of associations to work toward the same purpose. Enoch Edwards, a leader of one of the first agricultural societies, explained that they and the manufacturing groups were embarking together on a "grand undertaking" to check the "present decline of our trade, the deranged state of our finances, the melancholy propensity we discover for the productions of other countries [and] the distressing and visible truth that most foreign articles rise in their prices, while all the production of our farms bring less at market than formerly."[1] *Production* was the key word here; both types of societies hoped to ease the new nation's economic trauma by bolstering American production. Far from viewing manufacturing and agriculture as competing interests, they believed they could fit together harmoniously within the new nation's economy.

The agricultural societies mixed their interest in production and economic harmony with a republican emphasis on independent yeoman farmers in order to create a new mercantilistic brew. Manufacturers and farmers could theoretically work together because they both *produced* things that could be sold within the new nation, replacing the foreign imports that drained American money away to distant shores. All of this reinforced the thoroughly mercantilistic position that domestic production was desirable because it could improve the balance of trade. The agricultural societies also shared with James Madison and Thomas Jefferson the republican faith that the virtuous republic would be based on independent farmers. Unlike peasants, factory workers, and other less independent sorts, such hardy, self-reliant yeomen could not easily be corrupted or influenced by wrongheaded but powerful individuals. They would therefore serve as a line of defense against the corruption that always threatened republics,

or so the agricultural societies hoped. The virtuous farmers in this rhetoric were always male, and the republican rhetoric always portrayed economic virtue as a male quality, whereas corruption, or "degeneracy," wore a female guise.

All these issues were reflected in the new agricultural societies' rhetoric, but these groups were rarely composed of the much-praised independent yeomen. The agricultural society movement was not really about independent yeomen farmers at all. It was, instead, concerned with creating an independent national economy based on productive enterprises such as farming and manufacturing. Such an economy, *as a whole*, would be far more independent than the old colonial position within the British empire, but *individuals* within that economy would not necessarily be independent or self-sufficient. In fact, the agricultural societies, with their emphasis on the harmony of interests, of reciprocity between farmers and manufacturers, hoped that farmers would be *less* self-sufficient and more interconnected to American manufacturers as producers of raw materials. Ironically, the republican vision of agrarian economic independence became intertwined with the vision of state-aided manufacturing.

It should now be apparent that mechanic committees, manufacturing societies, and agricultural societies all shared a similar, coherent agenda defined by production and harmony. This vision was symbolized in the ratification parades of the 1780s, when mechanics, manufacturers, merchants, and farmers all marched together under the federal banner. By displaying their tools and finished goods they demonstrated the harmony of producers and the necessity of federal encouragement for their pursuits. The mechanic committees and manufacturing societies all made similar points in their literature, particularly when they stressed the importance of the southern region as a producer of raw materials for northern manufacturing. In this way they were really extolling the market—the cash nexus linking farmers to manufacturers, merchants, and consumers—which was a far cry from republican visions of rural self-sufficiency. In simultaneously stressing the importance of association, however, they eschewed the classical liberal emphasis on individual competition.

David Humphreys: Agricultural Poet Laureate

David Humphreys' interest in improving agriculture and strengthening the economic harmony of interests illustrates many of the intellectual foundations of the agricultural society movement. Born the son of a Connecticut Congregational minister in 1752, Humphreys matriculated at Yale where he developed

a lifelong interest in poetry. After receiving his master's degree, he joined the Revolutionary army and soon became an aide-de-camp, first to General Israel Putnam, then to General Nathaniel Greene, and finally, to George Washington, with whom Humphreys established an unusually close friendship. Due primarily to the president's patronage, Humphreys began a diplomatic career after the war, which culminated in his appointment as minister to the courts of Lisbon and Madrid in 1791 and 1796 respectively.[2] He also wrote poetry intermittently. Subsequent critics have included him among the "Connecticut Wits," although he was perhaps the least talented of that mediocre bunch.[3] In the early nineteenth century he would become more famous as a breeder of Merino sheep and a promoter of woolen manufacturing, but his poetry shows that by the 1790s he had already adopted a political economy similar to that of Tench Coxe and Mathew Carey.

A Poem on Industry, completed in 1792 and first published by Carey, offers the best insight into Humphreys' vision of a balanced national economy.[4] In some ways the poet was remarkably forward-looking. His acceptance and encouragement of new forms of manufacturing in word and deed seems to refute the criticism of the most eloquent historian of the Connecticut Wits, Vernon Parrington, who described them as "the literary old guard of eighteenth century Toryism" and fearful of the "new capitalism" of banking, insurance, shipping, and industrialism. "They hated new ways with the virtuous hatred of the well-to-do, and piously dreamed of a future America as like the past as one generation of oysters is like another."[5]

The central contention of Humphreys' poem, as he himself noted in the preface to the 1794 edition, was "that nothing is more essential to the wealth and prosperity of a state than INDUSTRY."[6] By *industry* Humphreys meant human labor and innovation, a quality that he believed was vital to the success of farmers, manufacturers, and traders.[7] The farmers' industry could provide raw materials for manufacturing:

> And ye who feel no feudal ties or tax,
> Ye farmers! haste to sow the coated flax.
> For fresh supplies each patriot fabric calls,
> Where toils the wave that fed Passaic's falls.[8]

Here Humphreys referred to Hamilton's manufacturing project (on Passaic Falls), which could stimulate farming by creating a demand for flax and, presumably, for other raw materials as well. Besides raw materials, manufacturers

also needed encouragement from the state. In his discussion of manufacturing, Humphreys asked the "sages in Congress" to "aid the mighty cause" of industry "with all the force and majesty of laws." Perhaps inspired by the *Report on Manufactures* he urged the congressional "sages":

> To useful arts a nation's arm direct,
> Create new fabrics and the old protect.

Long before he had purchased his first Merino, Humphreys also called for increased attention to sheep as a complement to governmental encouragement:

> First let the loom each lib'ral thought engage,
> That source of blessings from our active age!
> Rise then, YE PATRIOTS! ardent rise. Encrease
> In ev'ry vale, on ev'ry hill the fleece.[9]

Here was a spirited, if poetically awkward effort to combine protectionism and improved animal husbandry in a patriotic package.

Manufacturing and agriculture alone could not support the national economy. The third branch, commerce or trade, although absolutely essential, could also create trouble for the new republic. It could "teach happier barter for the national good,"[10] or it could undermine national industry by addicting American consumers to luxurious foreign products. Despite the threat of luxury and its attendant corruption, overseas trade defended by a formidable navy held a central place in Humphreys' political economy.

In his preface to *On Industry*, Humphreys noted that "INDUSTRY is peculiarly necessary at this period . . . for providing resources to create and sustain a naval force." The contemporary event behind this concern was the capture of American sailors by Algerians and the threat this implied to American independence. Humphreys used the conclusion of the 1794 poem to elaborate on the implications of Algerine aggression for Americans:

> What! Shall that race (forbid its blushing shame)
> Whose earliest deeds, enroll'd by deathless fame
> Fix'd freedom's flag beyond the western waves,
> Consent their Sons and Brothers shall be Slaves?
> Was it for this—in Britain's angry hour—
> You met, undaunted, far superior pow'r . . .
> Your Senate walls with patriot thunders rung,
> And "DEATH or INDEPENDENCE" fir'd each tongue.[11]

Only a strong navy could preserve American independence from the piracy of the Algerines and others like them. Humphreys also made the point in prose, when he asserted that "The wealth and resources of a nation flow from an uninterrupted and lucrative commerce, as naturally as streams from an abundant and never-failing fountain." America's helplessness in the face of the Algerine depredations underscored the need for a strong navy, which would remain necessary so long as overseas commerce remained a central element in the American economy.[12]

Perhaps Parrington was correct after all in pointing to Humphreys' essential conservatism, for his poem reached back to older republican concerns about the danger of luxury, as well as to mercantilistic arguments similar to those used to justify earlier New England "houses of industry." Coxe and Carey also shared some of this conservatism. All three promoted manufacturing on the grounds that it would stimulate national economic development, thereby improving the balance of trade and creating true independence, without fundamentally transforming the national economy or harming any existing interests.[13] They were working to form yet another, more profound, sort of harmony, a national political economic consensus that, they hoped, would rise above, regional, economic, and party interests. During the federalist era, nationalists commonly focused on political unity in ceremonies that emphasized consensus, thereby repressing or papering over conflict.[14] The writings of Coxe, Carey, and Humphreys can be seen as following a similar dynamic by rhetorically bringing all the national economic interests together to celebrate a shared glorious future much as mechanics, merchants, and farmers had done in the parades celebrating the ratification of the Constitution. In this way, their work was the literary embodiment of those celebrations.

Growth and Culture of the Agricultural Societies

In the decade and a half following independence, at least seven agricultural societies sprung up from New England to the Deep South. The most influential, the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture (PSPA), was founded in 1785 by John Beale Bordley, a Maryland gentleman farmer and American Philosophical Society member who recruited other "men of property and education" to form the new society. He was joined by twenty-two other men, most of them prominent Philadelphians, very few of them farmers. As the society grew, four of its members, Tench Coxe, Francis Gurney, Thomas Ruston, and Nathaniel

Sellars, also sat on the committee that directed manufacturing operations for the Pennsylvania Society for Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts. Dr. John Morgan, who twenty years earlier had written the prize-winning dissertation for John Sargent's contest, also joined.[15] Yet another member, Dr. George Logan, the critic of Hamilton's manufacturing plan, left the PSPA in 1788 to form his own group, the Philadelphia County Society for the Promotion of Agriculture and Domestic Manufactures.[16] Unlike the PSPA, Logan's group stipulated that all members must be farmers.[17] The membership of the other major agricultural societies at this time, including those in South Carolina, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, was dominated by urban elites and part-time farmers.[18]

Like David Humphreys, these gentlemen "farmers" marveled at the great potential for abundance promised by the new nation. In his speech to the Philadelphia County Society, Enoch Edwards noted that the country possessed "infinitely more resources by nature than are sufficiently adequate to survive any light shock occasioned by accident."[19] But many in the agricultural society movement in the 1780s and early 1790s were frustrated by the inability of American farmers to make use of this potential. Like the mechanics and manufacturers, they pointed to continued economic dependence on Europe and especially England as evidence of this failure. Edwards decried the "wanton and luxurious consumption of foreign goods" and hoped his society could bring the new nation "strength, wealth, and independence." Samuel Mitchill, president of the New York agricultural society, and another leading advocate of economic independence, suggested that "national prosperity and happiness are not imported commodities but productions of our own soil."[20] What was missing from American agriculture, the gentlemen echoed Humphreys in insisting, was industry and system. Enoch Edwards observed, in good republican style, that Rome declined "as soon as she relinquished in the smallest degree, her internal and domestic industry, and permitted agriculture . . . to be depressed, cramped, and discouraged by an importation of eastern luxuries." Just as patriots had created a new polity to save Americans from the political corruption endemic to republics, so the agricultural societies hoped to rescue the new republic from economic corruption.[21]

Their first action, joining together into societies, indicates that the founders believed association, not ruthless competition, was necessary for economic improvement. An economy based on atomized individuals was far less efficient than one based on cooperation and association. At a minimum, association would help to diffuse useful knowledge that might otherwise be lost. As the founders of the

Massachusetts society noted, "There are many persons in every community, who make improvements that perish with the possessor, merely for want of some place where they may be perpetuated."[22] Hence, the agricultural societies all sought to open lines of communication between the farmers in their respective states by encouraging other regional agricultural societies and by publishing their own findings, either in book form or in local newspapers and magazines.[23] Additionally, these societies, like those of the mechanics and merchant-manufacturers, frequently corresponded with similar groups in other states in order to circulate knowledge on a national level. The minutes of the PSPA reveal frequent correspondence with agricultural societies from Philadelphia County to South Carolina, Connecticut, New York, and even New Brunswick, Canada.[24]

The agricultural societies hoped to push American farmers out of their old ruts with the promise of valuable premiums for innovative agriculture. The roots of these programs reached back to Britain, where societies such as the London Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce and the Royal Dublin Society had offered premiums for agricultural products and manufactures at least since the 1760s. In America, the American Philosophical Society, the old New York Society for Promoting Arts, Agriculture, and Œconomy, and more recently, the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures had all offered similar premiums. The PSPA explained the rationale behind these programs by contrasting American farming to English agriculture. Fifty years earlier English agriculture had been just as backward as American, but by the 1780s, thanks to new advances, it had pulled far ahead. Therefore, the PSPA would offer cash prizes of $25 to $100 and valuable medals to try to convince American farmers to adopt these innovations. The major areas of concern were improved soil management, including crop rotations and new manures; pest management, especially focusing on the Hessian or wheat fly; improved livestock; and new types of domestic manufactures. The greatest hope was, as the PSPA explained, that farmers would move toward "orderly and systematic" farm management.[25]

From their inception agricultural societies saw a need to involve state and federal government in their activities. Writing to the PSPA, Samuel Mitchill bragged that in New York, "there is a disposition among us here to join hands and cooperate" in promoting agriculture. Among those "joining hands" were the state legislature, Columbia College, the chamber of commerce, and Mitchill's own society. Similarly, an anonymous PSPA correspondent noted in 1787 that "the true genius of animating agriculture must reside in those who hold the

reigns of government, and in gentlemen of all denominations."[26] Following these calls for cooperation, the Massachusetts and New York societies sought and obtained incorporation from their respective states. The New York legislature endowed an agriculture professorship at Columbia and occasionally offered bounties for products such as hemp and mulberry. In 1788 the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania asked the PSPA for information regarding the Hessian fly, which was damaging the state's wheat crop.[27] In 1794, after several years of declining fortunes, the PSPA leadership, realizing that their society could not survive without major changes, petitioned the state to be incorporated as the State Society of Agriculture in Pennsylvania. Referring to the recent incorporation of the Massachusetts society, they asked Pennsylvania to provide the society with financial assistance, to endow agricultural professorships, to encourage the formation of county societies, and to urge schoolmasters to teach Pennsylvania's children agriculture. When the state tabled the plan, the PSPA disappeared for more than a decade.[28] During that period, members of Congress, prodded by George Washington, recommended creating a national agricultural society that would, with federal support, offer premiums and publish agricultural experiments. The vision of a federal agricultural society died in 1801, due largely to President Jefferson's opposition to expanding Congress's powers.[29]

As the mechanics and manufacturers had in the ratification parades, and as writers such as Carey, Coxe, and Humphreys had in print, the agricultural societies celebrated the harmony of interests in the new nation. This emphasis was evident just from the names chosen by the Philadelphia County Society for the Promotion of *Agriculture* and Domestic *Manufactures* and the New York Society for the Promotion of *Agriculture*, *Arts*, and *Manufactures*. In his inaugural address to the New York Society, Samuel Mitchill urged farmers to look beyond their immediate interests when he told his audience, "I would not wish to be understood that the whole of our labor should be applied to agricultural pursuits, as if those were, as some argue, the only industry that is productive."[30] Here Mitchill was arguing against the French physiocrats, economic philosophers who had repeatedly insisted that only agriculture had productive value.

Like the physiocrats and like Humphreys, members of the agricultural societies frequently expressed ambivalence about overseas commerce, which clearly was less "productive" than either agriculture or manufacturing, although they praised domestic, internal commerce. The Massachusetts society hoped its members would aid in "advancing the happiness, prosperity and dignity of [their country], its *commerce*, and convenient subsistence of individuals," while Enoch

Edwards of Philadelphia County noted that agriculture and manufactures "are the vitals of *commerce*, the genuine parents of wealth, the social friends of virtue, and the enemies only of vice and immorality." It was only through production—agriculture and manufacturing—that commerce could prosper. Therefore, Mitchill argued, the United States, with its lackluster domestic economy, was dangerously dependent on overseas trade, and this dependence had created the depression of the 1780s. "And," he wrote, "to similar derangements all fiscal establishments will ever be liable that have no system of ways and means more independent than the import and tonnage derived from unprotected trade." To avoid these "derangements," America must "undertake the coarser and more useful kinds of manufactures and thereby become in a degree consumers of our surplus produce."[31]

The merchant-led PSPA stressed the need for improving internal commerce through better transportation. Without good roads the harmony of interests could become dissonant, for, as everyone agreed, it depended on the ability to produce *and sell* agricultural goods and manufactures. To improve internal commerce, the society formed a committee in September 1786 to consider the feasibility of building a new bridge across the Schuylkill River at the Middle Ferry. Two months later the society petitioned the state legislature to erect the bridge.[32] Inspired by this effort, three of the four members of the bridge committee were instrumental in founding the Society for the Improvement of Roads and Inland Navigation four and a half years later. Five of this society's nine officers were PSPA members. They intended to "[improve] of the natural advantages of Pennsylvania and [encourage] useful design and undertakings for the promoting of its trade, agriculture, and manufactures, and population by the means of good roads and internal navigation." The Schuylkill bridge and these new roads would serve as physical links to ensure harmony and intercourse among the great economic interests of agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce.[33]

Although the agricultural societies, the mechanics, and the merchant-manufacturers all shared a belief in the harmony of interests, their definitions of manufacturing all differed subtly. The mechanic committees understood the promotion of manufacturing to involve the expansion of traditional craft production. The manufacturing societies saw it as the creation of new, more highly capitalized factories. The agricultural societies focused on *household* production, that is, on products made from surplus farm goods, frequently by farm families. Thus, the agricultural societies were most concerned with "manufactures" such as cheese, wine, beer, and maple sugar that could be produced on the farm.[34] These

so-called manufactures would provide farmers with several benefits. First, they would bring in extra profits, thereby improving productivity. Beyond that, they would aid national economic independence. As PSPA president Samuel Powell noted to the winner of the society's cheese premium, "Since the practicability of producing such excellent cheese, in large quantities has thus been ascertained, the society hopes that many of our farmers will follow your example, and by their increased exertions soon furnish a full supply for the consumption of the United States."[35] Finally, by encouraging farmers to use land in different ways—by raising more cattle, or hops, or grape vines—these sorts of manufactures would further the societies' goals of better soil management and more innovative crops.

Beyond these farm-made manufactures, the societies also urged farmers to produce hemp, flax, silk, and wool to be used by textile manufacturers either in the United States or abroad. Growing these products would make farms more efficient and contribute to better soil management. They would also link progressive-minded farmers with the emerging manufacturing sector. In Europe this connection was frequently made through the *verlag* system of proto-industrialization, in which farm families essentially became exploited outworkers dependent on merchant-manufacturers. In America, such a system failed to take root in the early national countryside, where farmers remained independent producers.[36] This system of independent producers linking agriculture and manufacturing into mutually dependent networks was the core of the agricultural societies' vision.

The maple sugar craze of 1789–92 is an excellent illustration of this vision. Due to political turmoil in the sugar producing West Indies and high American tariffs, many entrepreneurs began to consider developing American-made maple sugar as a substitute for Caribbean cane sugar. The agricultural societies and their friends quickly latched on to this opportunity to promote American farm products. The two leading promoters, Henry Drinker and William Cooper, were both associated with agricultural societies—Drinker as a member of the PSPA and Cooper as a correspondent with the New York Society. They typified agricultural society activities in their emphasis on independence. Independent farmers, rather than employees or workers within a verlag system, would produce the sugar, but the farmers needed to be convinced that they could profit from it. This is why the project had to be so heavily promoted. Maple sugar promoters, including Cooper, David Humphreys, and Samuel Mitchill, never failed to laud the independent producers and to condemn the use of enslaved workers in the West Indian sugar plantations. Cooper contrasted the cruelty of the West Indian

sugar plantations with the maple forests of upstate New York, where "without exercising the lash of cruelty on our fellow creatures, without cultivation from year to year," Americans could reap "excellencies plentifully given to us by the bountiful hand of nature." Cooper and Drinker were not entirely altruistic. It was far cheaper to rely on the labor of farmers captivated by their promotional literature and potentially sharing the risk of the project than it was to invest capital in a large company, and both men hoped to make significant profits when sugar increased the value of their forested landholdings.[37]

The Gender Problem

If agricultural societies had few farmers, it is perhaps not surprising that they had no women. There were no women in the mechanic committees or manufacturing societies either. Yet given their emphasis on rural household production, one might expect agricultural societies at least to have acknowledged the important role of the farmer's wife and daughters. After all, it was they who were responsible for homespun and most other domestic manufactures.

Although physically absent from their meetings, women were metaphorically present in the frequently gendered language the agricultural societies employed. David Humphreys, as usual, provides exceptionally vivid examples. For him, industry was essentially a masculine pursuit. When he wrote of the planter stretching his "potent hand" or of Columbia's merchant sons "pierc[ing] each dang'rous zone," he conveyed an image of vigorous men at work. Industry allowed American men to produce their own goods and thereby live independently of Europe. Women, of course, were almost by definition *dependent* and therefore weaker. This weakness could be very dangerous when it manifested itself in a fondness for luxury. Feminine "indolence" and love of luxury was closely tied to dependence on foreign products. For this reason Humphreys issued an overwrought warning to "Columbian dames" against adopting "fantastic fashions," noting that "many a flow'r in beauty's damask pride [who] with'rd at morn, has droop'd its head and died." This passage, he explained in a footnote, was aimed at New England girls who insisted on wearing lightweight but stylish foreign fashions in the cold New England winters. Luxury, in other words, could prove fatal to such vain and silly women.[38]

Perhaps even greater than the threat to women's health was the threat these fashions proffered to men's sense of vigorous independence. This fear was a long-standing theme of the discourse of manufacturing. Even when women were cast

as virtuous producers during nonimportation, Revolutionary-era writers implied that they were acting against their frivolous natures. At the same time that the Daughters of Liberty were demonstrating their virtue and patriotism through public spinning displays, a sympathizer writing from London bemoaned the tendency of American ladies to "take the law of fashion from such a wanton tyranny of example as is imposed on you from Great Britain."[39] The struggle for liberty against tyranny mirrored women's struggle against the iron hand of fashion, and both could be subverted by women's nearly uncontrollable desire for foreign finery. By turning women into producers through spinning bees and by controlling their love of shopping through nonimportation, the homespun movement fought both the economic tyranny of the British system and the domestic folly of the fairer sex.

During the war for independence, two of society's more dependent groups, women and urban mechanics, were at the center of the drive for economic independence. Gender historians have frequently remarked on the role of women in this movement. The Daughters of Liberty, by holding public spinning bees and further publicizing their activities through newspapers, helped women gain one of their first tentative roles in the public sphere, they argue. By the same token, the public and associative nature of the spinning bees also reflected the contemporary ethos that economic activity, far from being limited to private decisions and individual initiative, was a matter of public interest involving the entire community. Just as the Sons of Liberty publicized nonimportation, the Daughters of Liberty publicized their spinning bees. Mechanic committees, manufacturing societies, and agricultural societies would also act communally to publicize economic decisions that might otherwise be made in private.

The protectionist movement of the 1780s did not forget the examples of the Daughters of Liberty or the gender issues raised by nonimportation. In the midst of the movement, a New York writer reprinted a 1767 address to American ladies to remind them "it is in their power to render the most important services to their country by discarding all useless and unnecessary gewgaws of foreign manufacture." Similarly, a Boston writer, noting that "it is in the power of the American ladies wholly to discourage the importation of British manufacture," urged women to escape being "slaves of custom" by setting up self-help societies in which they would sign resolutions against foreign goods and "promote and encourage by their own example, the use of our own country cloth."[40] Mechanic iconography made similarly gendered points. The famous "hammer and hand" symbol of New York's General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen was at-

tached to a powerfully muscled arm, making clear the gendered nature of the society's motto, "By hammer and hand all arts do stand." When women appeared in this iconography it was usually as stylized depictions of liberty. Tellingly, New York's master sailworkers' 1793 membership certificates portrayed lady liberty granting emancipation to a black slave.[41] Masculinity was firmly tied to independence, whereas femininity could be associated either with slavery (through consumption and dependence generally) or independence (production, liberty). Thus, women in this discourse were always problematic.

Like the mechanic committees, the manufacturing society movement praised manly productivity and bemoaned feminine "idleness." Both Tench Coxe and Samuel Miles in early Pennsylvania Society addresses played on this theme. Coxe hoped that the new societies would "give to our newborn states the strength of manhood," while Miles asserted that only through industry and by rejecting "superfluous luxuries of foreign countries" could the men of the society demonstrate "that you have no less virtue in the character of citizens, than firmness in asserting your rights as men." The merchant members of the Pennsylvania Society were a particularly appropriate audience for this message, since merchants as importers of foreign gewgaws enabled feminine indolence. A Philadelphia newspaper writer touched on this less-than-manly aspect of trading when he expressed the hope that the manufacturing societies might "compel the swarm of mercantile idlers to resort to useful arts."[42] The societies also attempted to mitigate the effects of feminine idleness in a more direct way, by hiring poor women as workers. "Not only men, but women and children ought to be industrious," wrote one contemporary observer. Another wrote that the surge in manufacturing would bring work to "women and children who would otherwise be idle, and what is worse, the direct consequence of idleness is extravagance."[43] Of course, for many nonelite women the result of idleness was more likely dire poverty and hunger. Whether they were saving women from luxury or poverty, the promoters of these manufacturing projects consistently linked industry, virtue, and independence to masculinity.

The agricultural societies stressed the same themes, using nearly identical language. In his speech to the Philadelphia County Society, Enoch Edwards noted that no great nation "ever arrived to the true *acme* of its real glory by any other means, than on the broad and solid basis of domestic industry," and he warned "that no power, yet on earth, ever retained its vigour, strength, and glory, after indolence, luxury, and effeminacy took the place of that virtue." The medals awarded as prizes by the PSPA illustrated Edwards' point. On one side they de-

picted "industry driving a yoke of oxen in a plough, and guiding it with both *his* hands." On the reverse they stamped a far more feminine scene: "Plenty . . . crowned with the New Constellation, and supporting over *her* right arm a Cornucopia, teeming with the choicest products of the earth." Humphreys, too, gave nature a feminine cast when in an apostrophe to Industry he enthused: "Thy arm, with perseverance, tam'd the wild / 'Til grateful nature, cloth'd in harvests smil'd." For the gentlemen farmers, then, the gender issue gained added complexity. Femininity, in the form of luxury and indolence, was always a danger, but by giving nature's abundance a woman's face, society promoters also suggested a more positive view of a feminine fecundity, which, once maintained and fertilized by masculine industry, would bring great happiness and wealth to the new nation.[44]

The merchants and gentlemen farmers who ran the early agricultural societies paid little attention to the reality that women performed most rural manufacturing. The societies tried to encourage farmers to grow flax and raise sheep, but they offered no encouragement to the farm women who would spin linen and wool. The only manufacture that the PSPA consistently encouraged with premiums was cheese making, which was usually women's work, but the sole recorded prizewinner was a man, Joseph Matthewson of Rhode Island. Maple sugar manufacture involved whole families, but the Albany maple sugar society awarded nearly all its prizes to men.[45]

Despite the example of the Daughters of Liberty, agricultural societies largely left women out of the harmony of interests. Although these groups were unable to resolve the ambiguous gender issues their rhetoric produced, they nonetheless succeeded in rhetorically linking the chief components of the early American economy. This was no mean feat, for in retrospect the potential conflict between the sectors appears at least as notable as the potential for cooperation. In the twentieth century an entire generation of progressive historians understood this conflict to be the most important determinant of early national history. Clearly the promotional societies of the day would have rejected this analysis, and in the coming decades, as rural society became more closely tied to new forms of manufacturing, they would be able to point to new factories in the fields to emphasize the interconnections in the emerging market economy.

Part III / Toward Industrialization

Manufacturing had been defined in multiple ways in late-eighteenth-century America—urban craft production, merchant-owned new-style manufactories, and rural household production, to name the three most important. As conflicts with England and France restricted America's booming overseas trade after the turn of the nineteenth century, voluntary associations once again promoted manufacturing as the path to a more consistently prosperous economy. This flurry of manufacturing promotion would continue more or less unabated throughout the next several decades, reaching its pinnacle in 1828. During these years all three forms of manufacturing grew and developed, but by the end of the period factory production was becoming the dominant image of manufacturing in the public mind, if not always in reality.

Although new types of manufacturing were commonplace by the turn of the nineteenth century, traditional processes remained the dominant form of production. The rapid spread of older forms of manufacturing occurred at the same time that new forms were introduced, creating in the cities what has been described as "metropolitan industrialization."[1] In metropolitan industrialization, more traditional large scale manufactures overshadowed new technologies (see Table 7.1). By 1810, the four leading cities, home to 3.5 percent of the nation's population, produced $5.36 million of eight products annually, roughly one-third of the national total. In three areas—refined sugar, beer, and tobacco and snuff—the leading cities produced more than half the national total.[2]

These figures suggest that the most pervasive change in urban areas during this period was the introduction of new and larger manufactories employing traditional technologies. Sugar refining, the quintessential urban process, had existed even before the Revolution, but after 1800 the number of operations grew rapidly. New York, for example, experienced a small boom in sugar refining when at least two major new refineries began operating in 1810 and 1811, one of which was incorporated with an anticipated $150,000 in capital.[3] Other mainstays of urban manufacturing, such as ropewalks, distilleries, and breweries also flourished. These types of large manufactories frequently relied on wage laborers

rather than the traditional craft-based labor system of apprentices, journeymen, and masters used by small household producers. Thus, despite the persistence of traditional technology, the growth of urban manufacturing was not always a boon to skilled craftsmen.

By 1810 large-scale textile factories employing new labor-saving technology had progressed from a gleam in the eyes of manufacturing promoters to an urban reality. In Providence, for example, during the two decades after 1790 textile production rose by more than 4,000 percent so that, by 1810, thirteen cotton manufactories produced more than $180,000 in textiles annually. To the south, Philadelphia became the most important textile factory center in the mid-Atlantic region. It and nearby Germantown had for some time been small centers of stocking weaving, and by 1810 the city alone held twenty-seven stocking manufactories producing more than $23,000 annually.[4] Despite repeated failures in the 1790s, Philadelphia could report at least two working cotton manufactories in the 1810 census, with six more in surrounding Philadelphia County.

The embargo of 1808 prompted widespread construction of new textile factories. Nationally, the number of cotton mills increased sixfold from 15 to 102 between 1808 and 1810.[5] Soon after Jefferson announced the embargo, a group of Baltimoreans, betting that the cessation of foreign imports would produce favorable conditions for domestic manufactures, quickly formed a million-dollar corporation, sold stock, and began to build the Union Manufactory along the Patapsco River. Completed in 1810, the factory was fitted with six to eight thousand spindles. By 1812, with the completion of a second mill, it was the largest cotton factory in the nation. Also in 1808, Baltimoreans broke ground for a smaller but still impressive cotton factory, the Washington Cotton Manufactory, located along the Jones Falls. By 1810 this factory consisted of one thousand spindles capable of spinning nearly 1.7 million yards of cotton yarn per week. The 1810 census showed six other cotton manufacturing establishments in the city, and a seventh, the three-thousand-spindle E. and J. Levering project on the Gwynn's Falls, was under construction.[6] The disruptions of commerce during the War of 1812 spurred other projects, most notably the Waltham-Lowell factories founded by the so-called Boston Associates, and in the decade of the 1820s new factories proliferated throughout the nation. Between 1820 and 1840 investment in American factories quintupled and the number of cotton spindles multiplied more than ten times.[7]

Although the cities were initially home to many of the most dynamic new projects, manufacturing was hardly limited to urban areas. The 1810 census

showed "blended and unnamed cloths and stuffs," mostly homespun, to be far and away the leading American manufacture, valued at more than $22 million. While increases in volume and technological innovation propelled urban manufacturing into the limelight between the Revolution and 1810, most manufactured goods were still produced by farm families using traditional methods. Yet by the 1820s traditional household manufactures began to decline due to the double incursion of new markets and new factories.[8]

Increasing reliance on water power for cutting-edge machinery and the promotional activities of agricultural societies caused large-scale factory manufacturing to become more of a rural pursuit during the latter part of this period. The 1820 census reported that New York City's only textile factory was a tiny stocking and pantaloon manufactory employing three workers, but in two clusters of largely rural counties in the Appalachian plateau and the highlands of the upper Hudson River Valley new-style manufacturing boomed due to the availability of water power. In Massachusetts only one of the twenty-one largest textile factories incorporated between 1807 and 1819 was located in Boston, while the most famous firms were located north of town, along the powerful Merrimack River. In Baltimore and Philadelphia, where the Jones Falls, Gwynn's Falls, and Schuylkill River provided reliable water power, textile factories continued to flourish, but even these cities were being eclipsed by rural areas to the west. In western Maryland, Frederick County, which had reported no textile factories in 1810, could boast of eight small establishments by 1820. Delaware County, Pennsylvania had four textile factories by 1820, and by 1832 it would report twenty-four, with an annual production of nearly $1 million.[9]

The adjacent counties of Oneida and Otsego, New York offer one of the most vivid illustrations of the ruralization of manufacturing. William Cooper had tried to promote industry in this region with his maple sugar project in the 1790s, but by the 1810s industry was coming to mean large-scale textile manufacturing using the area's abundant water power.[10] The 1810 census showed five cotton manufacturing establishments in Oneida, none in Otsego, and hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of textiles spun and woven in households in both counties. Ten years later, Oneida could report fourteen textile factories producing well over $100,000 annually and Otsego boasted six making nearly that much. By 1832 Oneida County's twenty-one textile factories annually turned out a half million dollars worth of goods, while Otsego's eleven factories produced roughly half that amount. These water-powered factories were relatively large establishments by 1830, with many employing a hundred or more workers, the majority

women who, in an earlier generation, would have made homespun on the farm. This remarkable growth of factory production had its roots to the east. The leading project in the area, the Oneida Manufacturing Society, was the brainchild of Dr. Seth Capron, an expatriated Rhode Islander who realized western New York's streams would provide abundant power for new mills. During the embargo he formed a partnership with several local lawyers and businessmen. They then invited an Almy, Brown and Slater mechanic named Benjamin S. Walcott to provide technical expertise for their firm. Walcott agreed, and by 1809 the firm had completed a three-story, sixty-by-thirty-five-foot factory, with an adjacent machine shop. The factory functioned for twenty years until a fire burned it down. Rebuilt in 1830, by 1832 it employed 190 men, women, and children who worked twelve-hour days to produce a million yards of cotton shirting annually. As was the case with most area factories, the bulk of the finished product was sold to New York merchants, who then sent it to markets throughout the United States and even to South America.[11]

This spreading out and ruralization of factory production would have at least two important ramifications. First, it would translate the rhetoric of the harmony of interests into a reality that farmers could easily understand. Rural people, especially women, would become increasingly linked to factories. Factory workers, in turn, would consume tens of thousands of dollars of locally grown pork, beef, corn, grain, and other foodstuffs, so that agriculture and large-scale manufacturing were arguably more closely connected after industrialization than before. Second, because of ruralization and industrialization, urban mechanics, the leading manufacturing proponents of the late eighteenth century, would become increasingly peripheral to the nineteenth-century pro-manufacturing movement.

Throughout these changes, manufacturing promoters continued to be influential. It is impossible to demonstrate the extent to which they smoothed the way for early industrialization, but certainly the decades-long drumbeat of pro-manufacturing rhetoric helped to prepare Americans to take advantage of the economic opportunities created by the embargo and war. In some ways this period mirrored the period of the American Revolution, when foreign affairs helped make the need for American manufactures more apparent to people who might not otherwise pay much attention to the manufacturing promoters. Also like the Revolutionary period, patriotic rhetoric praising homespun clothing and, to a lesser extent, women who made these domestic manufactures played a role. Due to the growth and increasing technological sophistication of American manufacturing, however, factories rather than craftsmen or women spinners would

increasingly be the ideal of those patriots who sought to use foreign affairs to speed the transition to manufacturing. By forming groups such as Baltimore's Union Manufacturing Company, they were able to put together capital, public support, and technological expertise extremely rapidly following implementation of the embargo. After so many years of pro-manufacturing rhetoric, investors must have already been convinced that large-scale manufacturing was practicable or desirable. Conversely, despite the disastrous economic downturn of 1819–20, which might have permanently burst the manufacturing bubble, enough Americans kept their faith in the new economy to spur the rapid expansion in manufacturing of the 1820s. Additionally, promotional associations and their rhetoric undoubtedly influenced the states and the federal government to pass legislation, culminating with the tariff of 1828, that created a climate in which manufacturing could flourish.

If promotional rhetoric spurred economic change, early industrialization, in turn, influenced the rhetoric in often subtle ways. For most of this period the sense of comfortable consensus the concept of a "harmony of interests" implied continued, but as the economy evolved, this consensus became increasingly fragile. As late as 1828 the call to protect native manufactures could resonate with many craft workers, as well as industrial capitalists. It could do so only because the definition of manufactures was still so protean as to include all the multitudinous methods of production. As chapter 7 shows, however, that definition was slowly moving toward the equation of manufacturing with factory production. As a result, by the end of the period serious tensions would emerge and threaten to destroy the promoters' cherished harmony.

Political developments would also have an impact on the efforts to promote manufacturing during these years. By the mid-1790s American politics began to be organized into national parties for the first time. The first parties emerged in part due to conflict over Alexander Hamilton's fiscal program, including his Report on Manufactures, although issues such as foreign policy ultimately would become more important. The new political system consisting of two large, diverse coalitions changed the face of popular political-economic activity. In the old British-based model economically aggrieved groups organized and petitioned the government directly for protection. Although petitioning did not disappear, these groups' concerns now also had to be mediated by the parties. In theory the power of parties could amplify political-economic demands, but in practice the various groups often had to compete with other conflicting interests within their own parties before they could influence policy. Beyond this, the nature of Ameri-

can parties was such that economic interests might be divided among both parties, thereby further diluting their influence. Despite many early nineteenth-century successes, the pro-manufacturing movement also suffered from this aspect of party politics.

The final chapters of this book examine how these economic and political developments transformed the pro-manufacturing movement. With the rise of political parties and industrial corporations, pro-manufacturing voluntary associations were forced to navigate the often treacherous world of party politics. At the same time, the growing influence and power of large-scale factory production, the ruralization of manufacturing, and disorder among the mechanics themselves ensured that these associations would be controlled by rich capitalists and prominent political figures to a much greater extent than before. This transformation would be only partially offset by the growing influence of ordinary people within political parties during the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian periods. Consequently, while urban mechanics had frequently been the driving force within the pro-manufacturing public sphere before 1795, by the 1820s their concerns would be nearly absent. This loss of rhetorical influence presaged the erosion of their economic position over the coming decades of intense industrialization, years that fulfilled the vision of large-scale manufacturers, if not of the other manufacturing supporters.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Redefining Manufacturing

The least precise element of the promoters' rhetoric had always been their definition of manufacturing. Mechanics thought of it as an expansion of craft production. Merchant-manufacturers envisioned new, technologically advanced factories. Farmers and, especially, their wives often thought of household production. As long as American manufacturing was more dream than reality, these differences could easily be ignored. However, as industrial capitalism began to be a way of life, the public gradually came to accept factory production as the standard form of manufacturing.

One way to track these developments is to examine the changing meaning of three key terms: mechanic, manufacturer, and manufacturing. By the 1790s, *mechanic* began to lose its earlier association with the artisanal craft system. The term took on at least two new meanings. First, wealthy master craftsmen who were entering into large-scale manufacturing sometimes appropriated it for themselves, occasionally using *mechanic* interchangeably with *manufacturer* as early as the 1780s. Second, and somewhat later, large-scale manufacturers began to associate the term *mechanic* with men who worked with machinery. Occasionally they would use the term *mechanician* to differentiate this usage from its predecessors. For example, Timothy Flint observed in 1825 that Rhode Island textile mills were filled with "mechanicians" and "manufacturers."[1] At the same time, *manufacturer* and *manufacturing* were increasingly coming to be associated with large-scale factories. Thus, although the craft system, rural household manufacturing, and large-scale traditional urban manufacturing all still flourished as late as 1815, changing understandings of key terms indicate that they were losing out to factories in the public conception of manufacturing. In this case the rhetoric preceded the reality and helped make Americans more comfortable and familiar with industrialization before they ever personally experienced it.

Table 7.1. Leading Urban Manufactures in 1810

Product	Urban Value (millions)	Percent of National Total
1. Footwear	$1.58	33
2. Refined sugar	$1.11	78
3. Distilled Spirits	$1.10	7
4. Rope	$1.04	25
5. Tanned Leather	$0.89	11
6. Hats	$0.78	18
7. Tobacco and snuff	$0.64	54
8. Beer	$0.58	60

Notes: Data are the combined figures for Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York, based on 1810 census.

Massachusetts's Protean Mechanics

Increased merchant interest and involvement in manufacturing began to undermine traditional mechanic culture as early as 1795, when the Associated Mechanics and Manufacturers of Massachusetts drew up their first constitution. This new society, commonly known as the Massachusetts Mechanic Association, differed from its predecessors.[2] Whereas earlier mechanic committees had identified themselves with the hierarchy and mutuality of the traditional craft system, members of the Massachusetts association increasingly saw themselves as independent businessmen.[3]

The structure of the Massachusetts Mechanic Association reflected the changing meaning of *mechanic*. The mechanic committees of the 1780s had all been umbrella organizations—confederations of various trades under a single banner. They generally consisted of central committees, each member of which had been chosen to represent an artisanal trade—blacksmiths, shoemakers, carpenters, and the like. This structure had allowed the Massachusetts Mechanic Association's predecessor, the Committee of Tradesmen and Manufacturers, to claim to represent the "whole manufacturing interest" of Boston.[4] Implicit in this structure was the sense that the more prominent master mechanics were the benevolent leaders of their trade. They represented not only their own interests but also those of less prominent masters, and even of the journeymen and apprentices who had only recently begun their careers.

The Massachusetts Mechanic Association did away with this benevolent hierarchy. Its members professed high ideals in their constitution—"promoting

good offices and fellowship, assisting the necessitous, encouraging the ingenious, and rewarding the faithful"—but they never claimed to represent anybody other than themselves, and they were never subdivided into their various trades, although their occupations were noted in the membership books. In 1801 when the town's Cooper's Society requested to be "acknowledged as a branch of the mechanic association," the request was denied. Their constitution, the mechanic association replied, "did not admit that any particular societies of trades should be acknowledged as branches of the association."[5] This new society was to be a general organization of individual businessmen, not a confederation of particular trades.

While the Massachusetts Mechanic Association departed radically from the old model of mechanic committees, it did not entirely supplant it. In January 1800 Boston's mechanics marched together, not as individuals, but as members of various branches to mourn the death of George Washington. The solemn procession resembled a subdued version of the ratification parade of 1788, with trades once again marching together under emblematic banners. Indeed, one newspaper commented, "Alas, on how different an occasion were these same flags unfurled but ten short years ago." Surprisingly, the mechanic association, with its modern conception of what it meant to be a mechanic, took the lead in organizing this very traditional procession.[6] These newfangled mechanics lived a bifurcated existence during this transitional period. In their daily lives they were moving away from craft identification, but for a formal, solemn occasion, especially one prompting memories of the mechanics' role in the Revolution, they still paraded as members of the traditional trades.[7]

The Massachusetts Mechanic Association's efforts to define what it meant to be a mechanic or manufacturer also reflected the fluidity of these terms. According to their constitution, each mechanic belonging to the association was required to be above twenty-one years of age and a "master workman." A manufacturer had to be either "a proprietor of a manufactory, or a superintendent thereof."[8] Here the term *mechanic* seems to have connoted a more traditional artisan, one who was part of a relatively well-defined craft system made up of masters, journeymen, and apprentices working in close proximity. By contrast, the term *manufacturer* seems to have been associated more closely with the newer large-scale manufactories with proprietors, superintendents, and workers. That the group nearly always called itself the *Mechanic* Association rather than the mechanic and manufacturers association indicates that, for the time being, both mechanics and manufacturers were being subsumed under the general term *mechanic.*

The early membership of the association reflected the structural transition occurring in the manufacturing sector. Members fell into three rough categories: those who had been trained as craftsmen, those who owned manufactories but had no formal craft training, and those who superintended large manufactories. That these members all saw themselves as mechanics is the best indication of how astoundingly flexible the meaning of this term had become by the 1790s.

The group of members with traditional artisanal training was the largest of the three. According to the society's earliest chronicler, of the first fifty members, nearly half had served as apprentices, and quite likely there were others whose apprenticeships he failed to mention.[9] Some remained mechanics in the traditional sense throughout their careers. After serving an apprenticeship with a tailor named Copeland, Benjamin Callendar opened his own shop in 1770, catering to an elite clientele. The success of his shop allowed him to reach the mechanics' goal of "comfortable independence" and spend his last years in leisurely retirement before dying in 1828, at the age of eighty-three. Similarly, Daniel Messenger who had come to Boston as a youth to be apprenticed to a master hatter, was "never much of a speculator in the way of business; not fond of innovations, but preferring to do every thing in a safe way." Like Callendar he was able to acquire a sufficient competency to spend his old age in comfortable retirement. Others, such as Samuel Gore and Jonathan Hunewell had been trained as apprentices but gradually moved away from the artisan world. Gore learned the painting trade from his father, and Hunewell had been apprenticed to a mason. Both used their profits from these trades to become investors in a local glass manufactory, and both suffered severe financial blows when it failed in 1822.[10]

A second group comprised those who had never been apprenticed in a craft but were "manufacturers" who owned large manufactories. Richard Faxon was born the son of a Braintree farmer. After serving under General Washington during the Revolution, he settled in Boston where he "carried on an extensive business in the making of edge tools" that turned "Faxon's Axes" into a household name in New England. He earned a fortune of $30,000 and then retired from the business to become a gentleman farmer in Roxbury. Other members of this group also were involved in mercantile activities. Samuel J. Tuck, having never served an apprenticeship, "made himself rich in the business of chair making" and added to his fortune by selling paints and engaging in overseas trade. He "built two or three elegant brick houses" for himself before losing his for-

tune due to the effects of the War of 1812 on overseas trade. Samuel Sellon was a merchant who, after emigrating from England, also worked as a farrier and blacksmith.[11]

A third group worked as superintendents of large manufacturing establishments. James Phillips, the son of a merchant, learned the rope making trade from an uncle. Later, he worked as superintendent of Isaac P. Davis's ropewalk from 1795 until it burned down in 1818. He served as overseer of the town's almshouse for the rest of his long life. Giles Richards, a wool and cotton card maker and an inventor of "labor-saving machinery," was also overseer of a wool card manufactory. With roughly 1,200 employees, this was the town's largest manufactory, and its new machinery had won admiring comments from George Washington. Clearly, the man who ran this establishment was no longer a mechanic in the traditional artisan sense.[12]

While the meaning of *mechanic* was rapidly changing in the 1790s and 1800s, much of the association's rhetoric was similar to that of earlier mechanic groups. Like preceding mechanic and manufacturing societies, the Massachusetts Mechanic Association stressed the idea of a harmony of interests. In his address to the association at its 1810 meeting, Benjamin Russell listed "the encouragement of the mechanic arts, manufactures, commerce, and the fisheries" as one of the duties of good citizens. After the oration, printer Chester Stebbins sang an ode written by fellow printer Samuel G. Snelling further extolling the connection between the economic interests. The first verse put forth what might be called a labor theory of creation:

> When first from on high the great fiat was given,
> 'By the sweat of thy brow shall thy bread be procured,'
> The curse proved a blessing descending from Heaven
> And the goddess of Genius her patrons allured.
> They first were displayed
> The Plough, Sickle and Spade,
> And Industry, smiling, heaven's mandate obeyed.
> No foe dare molest where in union are joined
> The Plough, loom and chisel, with commerce combined.

Each of the following four stanzas also concluded with "the Plough, loom and chisel, with commerce combined," further emphasizing the belief in the essential unity of farming, manufacturing, and commerce.[13]

Yet there was a subtle difference in emphasis from other pro-manufacturing groups' rhetoric. More than any previous group, the Massachusetts Mechanic Association stressed the link between *merchants* and mechanics. Their seal, created in 1801, graphically conveyed this near obsession with mechanic-merchant relations. At the top of the seal was a balance beam in equipoise. On the right side of the beam "various bales are suspended to represent the *commercial*, and from the left point numerous *Implements of Handicrafts*, to designate the *Mechanic Interests* of the community." The evenness of the balance evinced "the truth of the maxim contained in the motto of the Association, that equally balanced, the merchant and the mechanic being 'just,' may 'fear not.' "[14]

This emphasis on merchant-mechanic harmony was partially due to the association's efforts at overcoming initial merchant fears that the new society would seek to increase the price of mechanic labor. Unlike earlier societies, the Massachusetts association was dominated by the building and maritime trades. Nearly a quarter of its members were in construction trades, and 18 percent were in maritime trades. These individuals were very dependent on merchants for ship orders and on the well-to-do for new housing and commercial construction. By contrast, New York's General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen also had many members in the building trades, but only a few of its members were in the maritime trades. The largest concentration of members in the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers by 1790 was in the textile trades.[15] The relative absence of these trades in the Massachusetts Mechanic Association may have been due to the fact that Boston was never a major textile center in the way Providence was. The small number of workers in the leather trades is more puzzling. Shoemakers were among the most ubiquitous urban craftsmen and also among the poorest. It may well be that they were not quite the sort of people with whom the affluent members of the Massachusetts Mechanic Association wanted to associate.

These strong ties to merchants also help to explain another peculiarity of the Massachusetts Mechanic Association and of pro-manufacturing rhetoric in early nineteenth-century Boston generally. Unlike earlier mechanic societies, the Massachusetts association rarely emphasized the need for national economic independence. At first this is surprising, for this idea first gained prominence in the circular letter of the association's predecessor, the Boston Committee of Tradesmen and Manufacturers. Indeed, the concept was not entirely absent from the association's rhetoric. In 1809 Russell mentioned the mechanics' products as "those great ingredients of a nation's strength and independence."[16] Generally,

Table 7.2. Selected Occupational Categories for Boston's Massachusetts Mechanic Association, New York's General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, and the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers

Category	Boston (%)	New York (%)	Providence (%)
Textile trades	4	8	10
Leather trades	4	10	8
Metal trades	12	10	9
Maritime trades	18	5	7
Building trades	24	17	8

Notes: The Boston figures are for members 1795–1810, New York is for 1785–1798, and Providence for 1789–1790. Sources for Boston: Benjamin Russell, "An Address Delivered before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association, Dec. 21, 1809 . . . " (Boston: John Eliot Jr., 1810) 39–45; New York: Thomas Earle and Charles T. Congdon, eds., *Annals of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the city of New York, From 1785 to 1880* (New York, 1882), 236–41 (cross checked with city directories); Providence: Kornblith, "Origins. . . ," 366–367. Categories divided as follows: Textile: cardmaker, clothier, cotton manufacturer, cotton spinner, cotton worker, weaver, hatter, tailor. Leather: cordwainer, currier, leather dresser, saddler, shoemaker, tanner. Metal: blacksmith, brass founder, coppersmith, goldsmith, silversmith, tinman, tinplate worker, tool maker, gilder, engraver. Maritime: block maker, boatbuilder, sailmaker, ship carpenter, ship joiner, shipwright. Building: bricklayer, brickmaker, carpenter, house carpenter, housewright, joiner, mason, painter, stonecutter.

Joseph T. Buckingham and the society were very attracted to the notion of *personal* economic independence.[17] With their strong ties to merchants, however, members of the society must have been uncomfortable giving much weight to the concept of national economic independence, which ostensibly stressed the harmony of interests but could also be interpreted as a call for augmenting manufacturing at the expense of overseas trade. Whatever their motivation, by 1810, Boston's leading mechanics and manufacturers were much cozier with the city's merchants than their predecessors had been twenty-five years earlier during the movement for state tariff protection.

Mechanics' Banks?

Controversy surrounding the formation of mechanics' banks offers further insight into the changing definition of *mechanic*. Between 1806 and 1814 these institutions were founded in each of the four largest seaport cities, ostensibly as a means of providing credit for manufacturing enterprises. This activity was part of a nationwide trend of bank chartering in state legislatures, spurred by the commercial crisis of those years and discussions regarding the rechartering of

Table 7.3. Mechanics' Banks

Name	Location	Founded
Mechanics Bank	Baltimore	1806
Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank	Philadelphia	1807
Mechanics Bank	New York City	1810
Mechanics' Bank	Philadelphia	1814
Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Bank	Boston	1814

the United States Bank in 1810–11.[18] Pennsylvania, to cite an extreme example, chartered forty-one new banks in a single legislative act in 1814.[19] The friends of manufacturing also saw new banks as desirable so long as they would aid in the creation of new industry. Thus, Tench Coxe and Mathew Carey both were strong supporters of an enlarged banking system.[20]

However, many Americans opposed new banks, usually on the grounds that they would benefit only merchants and speculators, who were viewed by many as nonproducing parasites contributing nothing to society and creating an unstable boom-and-bust economy.[21] New York's governor, Daniel Tomkins, who in 1811 had asked the state legislature to support manufacturing, railed against banks in 1812, warning that they contributed to speculation and inflation while hurting manufacturing and agriculture by hoarding specie.[22] This distaste for banks as the tools of speculators coupled with the generally positive portrait of manufacturers as honest producers may be the key to the mechanics' bank movement. For, while critics of merchant "speculators" would oppose most legislative efforts to charter new banks, they would look more favorably on those that also encouraged manufacturing or agriculture.

To capitalize further on this prospect of widespread goodwill, the supporters of these projects all linked their activities to the public good. As one proponent of the Baltimore Mechanics Bank wrote, "We want a bank established and conducted on fair principles that will protect the industrious mechanic, the honest retailer, the prudent dealer, from the nefarious bunch of harpies and shavers that infest our city." The supporters of Philadelphia's Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank pledged "to advance the interests of agriculture, manufactures and the mechanic arts" and "to repress the practice of usury."[23] One way to protect the mechanics was to put them on the banks' boards of directors, a course several of these institutions followed. The constitution of the Baltimore Mechanics Bank stipulated that nine of fifteen directors must be "practical mechanics or manufactur-

The ship, wheat, and manufactured tools decorating the seal of Philadelphia's Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank (1809) illustrate the connections between commerce, agriculture, and the mechanic arts. Courtesy Hagley Museum and Library.

ers," and the charter of the New York Mechanics Bank called for eight of fourteen directors to be members of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, four of whom must be "men actually engaged in the mechanical profession."[24] Only a mechanic "actually engaged in his mechanical employment or occupation, and who has followed the same for the space of one year at least previous to his election" was eligible to be a director of the Philadelphia Mechanics' Bank, and a majority of the directors of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank were to be "farmers, mechanics, or manufacturers actually employed in their respective positions."[25] By thus mandating the involvement of mechanics, the projectors minimized potential objections that the banks were merely the plans of speculators unconcerned with the public good.

If associating mechanics with these banks helped the projectors, it also promised benefits to the mechanics themselves. One method of keeping these projects from the control of speculators was to give mechanics special opportunities

to subscribe to bank stock. In Boston, for example, the state reserved one-third of the bank's stock "for the subscription of mechanics and manufacturers" and two thousand shares for the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association to sell to its members.[26] In New York the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen received the right to purchase 150,000 shares with the further guarantee that the new bank would loan them money for the stock if needed.[27] These terms provided dual benefits for the mechanics of New York and Boston: As investors in new banks the societies and their members could potentially become quite rich, and by holding large amounts of bank stock they gained influence over the direction of the banks, particularly in electing directors and framing bylaws.

Another advantage to the mechanic societies was the boost to their sagging membership. The need to gain new members was an important motivation for the General Society's involvement in banking in New York. The first mention of a bank in the society's minutes was from a committee appointed "to devise a plan to induce members to attend."[28] Indeed, the lack of interest in the society had been a serious problem in preceding years, with nine of twelve monthly meetings canceled due to a lack of a quorum in 1808, and eight of twelve canceled in 1809. By contrast, meetings in 1810, following the introduction of the bank plan, were well attended, with over 250 men applying for membership. Similarly, the Massachusetts Mechanic Association's secretary later noted that the "great struggle" by Bostonians to obtain shares in the new bank gave the association, with its two thousand reserved shares, newfound popularity, bringing in forty-five new members.[29] Thus, the banks may also be seen as efforts by mechanics' societies to revive their influence, which had been on the wane since the 1790s.

The active participation of mechanics' societies in the new banks further benefited the banks' projectors, for despite their societies' problems, mechanics wielded considerable political power in the cities. No doubt potential investors were betting that the mechanics' participation in the new banks would help to gain acceptance from state legislatures. Joseph Buckingham, of the Massachusetts Mechanic Association, later wrote that the movers behind the Boston bank were "certain gentlemen [who] had petitioned the Legislature for a bank charter" and supposed that "the influence of the mechanic interest, if enlisted in their behalf, might be useful in aid of their project."[30] In the case of these projects, the needs of the mechanics seemed to align well with those of urban merchants.

Despite this alignment of interests, the mechanic banks, especially the well-documented New York and Baltimore operations, were fraught with conflict

from the start. The basic source of tension was the issue of mechanic participation. This tension surfaced in Baltimore well before the bank became reality, when a second group of projectors set out to modify the proposed articles of association. The dispute between this group and the original projectors centered on who should direct the bank. "One [group] is afraid the mechanics will have too much power, another not enough," wrote one newspaper correspondent in summary of the dispute.[31] The group that had originally proposed the bank remained the most concerned that mechanics retain control of the project, going so far as to ask everyone on the planning committee to sign "a paper binding each of them to adhere to those identical fundamental principles in favor of mechanics, which all of them professed to espouse."[32] Ultimately, the revised constitution proposed by the group less favorable to mechanics prevailed. Whereas the original constitution had stipulated that two-thirds of the directors be "practical mechanics, artificers or handicraftsmen," the version ultimately adopted called for only three-fifths to be "practical mechanics or manufacturers." In addition, the final constitution failed to include an article proposed by the original group guaranteeing that "all practical mechanics, artificers, and handicraftsmen, and the middling and poorer classes of the community" who did not own bank stock would be given preference over other nonstockholders when requesting loans or discounts.[33]

In New York, as in Baltimore, mechanics feared that their bank would be theirs in name only.[34] Here the conflict, although complex, was rooted in the General Society members' fear that they were losing control. After an involved dispute over whether the society would retain voting rights for shares transferred back to the bank as collateral and whether they would be able to sell off these shares at any time, many members of the society threatened to leave the group. These dissidents complained that the bank directors, some of whom were also society members, were "guilty of very unfair and improper conduct, particularly in the distribution of that stock which was by charter reserved for mechanics." The banks' directors responded that "$600,000 has been exclusively appropriated to mechanics and tradesmen of this state, agreeably to the charter and the bye-laws and regulations made by the Board," and that more than half of this sum had been distributed to members of the General Society.[35]

There was another, deeper source of this conflict. The changing meaning of the term *mechanic* added a tricky definitional dimension to the wrangling over mechanic participation in these banks. The provisions in the bank charters stipulating that mechanics must be on the boards of directors pitted old-style me-

chanics against new-style manufacturers. This semantic issue becomes strikingly apparent if the two proposed constitutions for the Baltimore bank are compared. Whereas the original group called for a majority of the directors to be "practical mechanics, artificers or handicraftsmen," the second, victorious group stipulated that they be "practical mechanics or manufacturers." The latter definition angered a newspaper writer calling himself "An Examiner," who protested that it would allow flour manufacturers, sugar manufacturers, and other large-scale manufacturers to sit on the board. Although the author admitted that some small-scale producers such as shoemakers and brush makers were sometimes called manufacturers, he argued that they were in fact handicraftsmen rather than manufacturers because they were "working people" of "middling circumstances." The work of handicraftsmen was "actually fashioned or performed by the hand" whereas a true manufacturer "does not employ his hands in his work, other than in removing his materials from one place to another."[36] Thus, for the Examiner, and presumably others, a real mechanic was one who worked with his hands. This definition was similar to the traditional craft-based understanding of what it meant to be a mechanic, but others were clearly expanding *mechanic* to include those who might formerly have been considered manufacturers or supervisors, thereby separating the term from its traditional craft sense.

Proponents of a more traditional definition of *mechanic* also referred to the old ideas of benevolent leadership and mutuality within the craft hierarchy. A newspaper writer calling himself "A Friend to Union" emphasized the need for harmony between the city's bickering craftsmen who might still "like a band of brothers join" under "that well known motto . . . 'united we stand, divided we fall.' "[37] Another newspaper writer stressed the importance of mutuality in defining the proper sort of mechanics to be elected bank directors: "Be not satisfied with merely knowing the candidates are mechanics or manufacturers but investigate the character and principles of the man, enquire whether he wishes to see all mechanics prosper, or if he alone would possess the 'loaves and fishes' and instead of lending a helping hand to his fellow mechanics, would oppress and grind them." Here the essence of being a mechanic was based on an ethic of mutuality rather than on any specific form of economic activity, harking back to the spirit of the earlier mechanic committees while avoiding the difficult empirical issue of what sort of economic activity differentiated mechanics from others.

The problem of defining *mechanic* continued to rankle the Baltimore bank's directors even after the second group had triumphed. They attempted to clarify their definition with the following bylaw: "No persons shall be considered

as coming within the description of a practical mechanic or manufacturer unless he has learned or actually wrought at some mechanical or manufacturing trade for the term of three years at least, and for twelve months next preceding his election hath been carrying on some mechanical or manufacturing branch of business, either in his own person or with his own funds, or by workmen or apprentices by him hired or employed."[38] This new definition allowed a wide range of candidates to be nominated as mechanic directors. Of fourteen candidates in 1806 and 1807 who were described as mechanics and whose professions could be identified, many, such as the three brickmakers, two flour merchants, and two architects did not follow traditional artisanal trades.[39] Brickmakers, at least the most successful ones, tended to be large employers, and in Baltimore they, as a group, were the second largest slaveholders, following shipbuilders.[40] James Mosher, one of the brickmakers in this group, was a colonel in the city's militia and would later become a founder of the Baltimore Gas Light Corporation.[41] Other candidates, such as tanner William Jenkins, and shipwright William Price, were the city's richest and most powerful master mechanics.[42] Even under the bank's loose definition, it is difficult to understand how flour merchants William Jessop and Thomas Sheppard could have been considered manufacturers, unless it was because they employed workers in flour mills. Perhaps anticipating some controversy, the person who nominated Sheppard described him as "a gentleman in very independent circumstances, acquired by his own indefatigable industry."[43]

Even those bank director candidates who practiced more typical mechanical professions were not themselves typical. Robert Carey Long, once a carpenter, was becoming one of the city's most prominent architects. Among the buildings he designed between 1809 and 1814 were the city's medical school, the New Theater, and St. Paul's Church. He, too, was a founder of the Baltimore Gas Light Corporation.[44] Similarly, stonecutter Robert Stewart called himself an architect by 1824. His true vocation, however, was politics. He sat on the city council five times between 1797 and 1805 and served in the state general assembly from 1806 to 1809.[45] Other politically active mechanic candidates for the directorship included watchmaker and silversmith Peter Little, who was elected to the general assembly in 1806 and to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1810, and wool card manufacturer Adam Fonerden, a former city council member and assemblyman, who tried unsuccessfully to regain his city council seat in 1806.[46]

Although the New Yorkers never tried to define *mechanic* and *manufacturer* formally, they too seem to have conflated the terms. Their constitution called

for seven members of the bank board of directors to be members of the General Society, with four of them "actually engaged in the mechanical profession." As in Baltimore, most of these men were "engaged" in mechanical professions as large employers rather than as workers, and several were also involved in local politics. The constitution allowed nearly half of the directors belonging to the mechanics' society *not* to be mechanics. If members of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen were not mechanics, what were they? One, Gabriel Furman, was an insurance broker and former alderman who had belonged to the General Society since at least 1791, serving as president in 1795. Why he belonged to the society is not clear, but probably he had been trained in some sort of mechanical trade in his youth.[47] Similarly, Mathew Davis, a prominent politician who was listed in the 1810 city directory as a merchant, was a former printer who had belonged to the society since at least 1799.[48]

The mechanics' banks thus served both to muddy and to expand the definition of *mechanic.* Projectors of these banks, who by and large were not mechanics in any traditional sense, sought to appropriate the positive connotation that mechanics, as hardworking producers, held in the public consciousness. In so doing, they began to count large-scale manufacturers, and even some merchants, as mechanics. As a result, prosperous mechanics and manufacturers were identified even less with the decaying craft system, which now faced a semantic dissolution even as many craftsmen continued to operate successfully in the business world. At the same time, the confusion between the terms *mechanic* and *manufacturer* became even greater, and for many of the people associated with these banks they became virtually interchangeable. Although calling oneself a mechanic could be useful in gaining public support for projects, large-scale manufacturers increasingly chose not to use this term to describe themselves in other contexts, perhaps because of the very earthiness that endeared it to the bank projectors.

Adam Seybert's Oration

The Philadelphia Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinners, held in 1808 and 1809, reflected and contributed to the continuing redefinition of manufacturing. Guests at these dinners began self-consciously to define themselves as a class of "manufacturers." Founded by some of the city's prominent factory owners, this event was designed as an annual gathering to promote the exchange of technical information and to oversee a "mechanics fund" to "provide for the indigence

or infirmity" of members and their families.[49] As such, the annual dinner was designed to take on some of the functions traditionally performed by mechanic committees such as New York's General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen. Like the Massachusetts Mechanic Association, however, it ignored the traditional craft divisions, and, even more than its Boston counterpart, it was run by large-scale manufacturers rather than craftsmen.

The annual dinner offers a window into how those within the manufacturing sector understood the terms *mechanic* and *manufacturer* during the embargo period. Particularly illuminating is the after-dinner speech of Adam Seybert, a physician-cum-chemical manufacturer, as well as a politician and statistician. For a short time in 1809 he was also a partner in the extensive reincarnation of the Globe Mills textile works located just north of Center City.[50] Seybert delivered his address at the second (and last) Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinner at the Shakespeare Hotel on Friday, May 19, 1809. According to a press report it was "numerously attended," although perhaps not quite so well as the previous year's event, held in the old U.S. Senate chamber, which had been so crowded that "great numbers could not be admitted." It is difficult to say exactly who the diners were, but "every manufacturer, mechanic or artizan of good demeanor" had a standing invitation, provided he had the price of a ticket.[51]

Seybert's oration may be divided into halves. In the first part of his speech he discussed in general terms the necessity for further study of the mechanic arts, the need to overcome ignorance and prejudice against manufacturing, and the desirability of gaining government support for this program, with the usual references to Colbert and English mercantilism. Although some of his arguments and examples were unique, this portion of the oration presented themes that had long been standard elements in pro-manufacturing rhetoric in American cities. It was only in the second half of Seybert's oration that he began to touch directly on the daily lives of his audience. This part of the speech opened with what was ostensibly a list of the new nation's abundant natural resources and the types of manufacturing that had been, or should be, established to exploit them.[52] But his catalog also served the unstated purpose of applauding the various leaders of the Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinner for their accomplishments.

When Seybert began this section of his talk by lamenting the fact that "large sums of money" were annually sent abroad from the seaport cities "for various ochres which are used as paints" instead of being used to purchase domestic products, he no doubt nodded toward his medical colleague, Dr. Joseph Strong. Strong, one of the planners of the dinner, also operated a factory near the Globe

Mills that produced white and red lead and other paints.[53] As he spoke of the need to manufacture more window glass, he may well have glanced toward Robert C. Martin, another member of the planning committee. Martin, a saddle and harness maker, had become, by 1808, a partner in a new glassworks located along the Schuylkill River. He also was active in Coxe's revived manufacturing society.[54] Next, Seybert alluded to "an extensive type foundry" that had been "created by two individuals, the types of which, for elegance and accuracy are second to none." Here, he was congratulating Archibald Binny and James Ronaldson, two more planners of the dinner, with a weak pun—for the elegant "types" might refer to their persons as well as to their products. These two immigrants brought their manufacturing skills with them from Scotland when they established a type foundry in Philadelphia in 1796. Ronaldson parlayed some of the profits into investments in the early manufactories of nearby Moyamensing. He continued to be active in Philadelphia pro-manufacturing circles well into the 1820s, when he worked closely with Mathew Carey on the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry and in organizing the protectionist 1827 Harrisburg convention.[55]

In the same paragraph Seybert also praised "our printers," perhaps with Mathew Carey in mind, and "our bookstores." Bookstore owners might seem to be small merchants rather than manufacturers, but no doubt Seybert included them in order to draw attention to Abraham Small and William Y. Birch, partners in a profitable bookselling business. Small had delivered the oration at the previous year's Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinner, and both men belonged to nearly all the city's pro-manufacturing organizations.[56] Seybert's later reference to "a manufactory of painted floor cloth" alluded to John Dorsey's establishment. A state senator and American Philosophical Society member, as well as the proprietor of a large carpet manufactory near Center Square (which he sold to Isaac Macauley in 1810), Dorsey was simultaneously president of the Premium Society and chairman of the Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinner. He was also a Domestic Society director.[57] As Seybert rounded off his list of American manufactures, he also acknowledged chemical laboratories, cotton manufactories, soap factories, and hatteries owned by other planners of the dinner.[58] By listing and describing these important local "manufacturers," Seybert was also describing what it meant to be a manufacturer in 1809.

Viewed as individuals, the men to whom Seybert referred were a diverse lot producing many sorts of goods. The majority operated large-scale manufactories, but others ran very small operations, using fairly traditional technologies.

Viewed as a network, their commonalities become more obvious. Most of them belonged to the same manufacturing organizations, especially the Domestic Society and the Premium Society, which promulgated pro-manufacturing rhetoric similar to that of the Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinner.[59] Others, such as Mathew Carey, were prominent authors and distributors of this rhetoric. All told, these manufacturers sat on the same committees, read and produced similar pro-manufacturing rhetoric, and shared a commitment to spreading the gospel of large-scale manufacturing. In short, they were beginning to fashion themselves into a self-conscious class of industrial capitalists. Seybert's oration was, in a sense, their ode to themselves.

But what of the "mechanics" in the dinner's title? Who where they, and why were they included? For Seybert, the term *mechanic* was tied to technical scientific knowledge. Earlier in his speech, in an oblique reference to David Rittenhouse, creator of a famous orrery, Seybert bragged that the new nation could "boast of one who, though self-taught, from the exercise of his genius and a refined knowledge of *mechanics*, contrived to put a world in motion."[60] Thus, some of the manufacturers praised by Seybert might also be considered mechanics if they had scientific knowledge.

Mechanics as a group received their due in the final section of Seybert's talk, when he discussed the "improvement of Machines" that was necessary for manufacturing to flourish. "Our countrymen in this respect," Seybert assured his audience, "have exhibited many proofs of their skill." An interesting redefinition had occurred here. The term *mechanic* had been separating from its earlier association with the craft hierarchy, but, as can be seen from the mechanics' bank controversies, its definition was still very much in flux. Seybert, in his oration, was beginning to redefine it toward the more modern concept of the mechanical engineer, laying emphasis on mechanics' technical knowledge rather than their business practices or organizational structure. The master mechanics or "mechanicians" of the 1830s would continue this emphasis when they formed technically oriented networks and organizations, such as the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia.[61] The early stages of this redefinition can also be observed in a book published in 1811 by James Mease, a Philadelphia physician and agricultural society leader who was present the night of Seybert's oration. In a section of *The Picture of Philadelphia* describing the city's manufactures Mease wrote: "All the various edged tools for *mechanics* are extensively made; and . . . our common screw augur, an old and extensively useful instrument, has been recently announced in the British publications, as a capital improvement in *mechanics*."[62]

Here, in a single long sentence Mease employed both meanings of *mechanics*, the old one signifying "craftsmen" and the new one linking it to machinery.

So, just as Seybert and his colleagues were equating the term *manufacturer* with industrial capitalists, they also were simultaneously redefining the concept of a mechanic. It is difficult to say with certainty what their motivations were, but the most likely answer seems to be that they wished to promote unity between manufactory owners and skilled mechanics. To a large extent manufacturers were dependent on these mechanics, most of whom were shrewd enough to realize that they were consequently in a position to threaten to take their expertise elsewhere if they were not paid well.[63] The Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinner may well have been a means of providing these mechanics with nonpecuniary remuneration by publicly recognizing their achievements, affirming their social respectability by treating them as suitable dinner companions, and holding out the promise of a mechanics' fund to help them ride out hard times. From one perspective the dinner represents a measure of the power wielded by these mechanics, but from another it appears to be an effort by the nascent industrial capitalists to win the mechanics' loyalty by filling their stomachs and affirming their status, thereby convincing them that their interests lay with the manufacturers rather than in traditional craft mutuality.

The Census Redefines Manufacturing

The period of the embargo and the War of 1812 was one in which public interest in manufacturing greatly intensified.[64] The most obvious reflections of this growing interest were the federal manufacturing censuses of 1810 and 1820. These censuses, heavily influenced by the pro-manufacturing rhetoric of the previous decades, were the first national efforts to identify and determine the size of the manufacturing sector in the new nation's economy. They reflected the fluctuating definition of manufacturing, and they ultimately helped to redirect it away from older artisanal conceptions and toward the emerging notion of industrial capitalism.

The 1810 Census of Manufactures was a product of the pro-manufacturing rhetoric of economic independence associated with the embargo of 1808 and the crisis leading up to the War of 1812. Its genesis was in an 1809 congressional resolution calling on Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin to prepare a report "for the purpose of protecting and fostering the manufactures of the United States, together with a statement of the several manufacturing establishments which have

been [recently] commenced."[65] Gallatin's report, published the next year, was predicated on the assumption that economic independence was desirable. The report's organizing principle was to differentiate between those manufactures, such as wood, leather, and soap, in which America was essentially self-sufficient, and those that were "firmly established" but for which the new nation still relied substantially on imports. To encourage innovation, Gallatin proposed creating a loan fund to increase the availability of capital to new projects, rather than imposing heavy protective tariffs, which he believed would be less efficient and more expensive in the long run.[66]

Noting that his information was "partial and defective," Gallatin suggested that Congress use the approaching census of 1810 to collect more accurate and detailed manufacturing statistics. In May 1810, Congress agreed to allocate $30,000 in census funds to create "an account of the several manufacturing establishments and manufactures" of the new nation, and census marshals began to publicize the project in various newspapers to gain cooperation from manufacturers.[67] After the returns had been collected, Gallatin asked Tench Coxe, the preeminent expert on American manufacturing statistics, to make sense of them. Coxe realized that the information was inadequate due to the hasty and unsystematic efforts of census takers unprepared for this last-minute addition to their duties. He attempted to fill in some of the deficiencies by placing newspaper advertisements asking "public spirited and intelligent citizens" throughout the nation to persuade their local "master manufacturers" to supply Coxe with information on "kinds of goods manufactured, and current prices, and the quantities" made by them. Coxe made this request not as a census official but in his capacity as purveyor general for the United States, thus explicitly tying the need for manufacturing statistics to the impending war. The statistics, he explained, would be part of a "considerate anticipation of the most serious exigencies," that is to determine what materiel Americans could manufacture for themselves should war break out. For this reason, it was necessary "to make an early and universal operation with respect to the exhibition and examination of our local and general resources and capacities."[68]

Congress next asked Coxe to tabulate these returns with the earlier census data, leading to what became Coxe's 1814 *Digest of Manufactures.* This report, and indeed the entire manufacturing census project, was heavily criticized from the beginning. As early as 1810 a writer using the pseudonym "Neckar" in the Philadelphia *Aurora* said of Gallatin's circular to the marshals, "Never was a more slovenly or imbecile paper issued from a public office."[69] The problem with Gal-

latin's plan, the writer continued, was that it was devoid of any "scheme of statistical order." By the following winter the Baltimore *American* was already predicting that the returns would underestimate Maryland's manufactures by at least 25 percent.[70] Coxe himself alluded to the difficulties in data collection when he noted that he had tried to make his report as accurate "as the diversities and deficiencies of the marshals' and territorial secretaries' returns rendered practical." Still, he admitted that the report remained more an "estimate" than an exact census. His candor failed to forestall further criticism. In the summer of 1814 *Niles' Register* published a blistering attack on the report, repeating the 25 percent shortfall estimate and commenting that the figures were "so far short of the truth that I am disposed to regret that they were published at all." The report was also criticized in the *North American Review* and in Adam Seybert's pioneering 1818 *Statistical Annals*, which was the most important early compilation of American statistics.[71]

The more perceptive of these critics realized that beyond the competency and training of the marshals, the fundamental flaw of the manufacturing census was in the schedule devised for the census takers' use.[72] Rather than asking specific statistical questions, it consisted of a nearly random list of products, establishments, and machinery. Marshals were expected to ascertain the amount of goods such as "cotton duck," "gold and silver work," "bells," "beer," "paper," and so on. Additionally, they were to determine the numbers of certain sorts of manufactories and machinery, such as "cotton manufacturing establishments," "looms for cloth of cotton and wool," and "naileries." In practice, census takers continually added new categories reflecting the state of manufacturing in their districts, and in doing so, they created a quilt work census of widely varying categories from district to district.[73]

What is striking about the census schedule and Coxe's summary table is the lack of concern with labor and method of production. Although the marshals occasionally asked questions about machinery or about the number of various types of "establishments," the vast majority of the data pertained to the quantity or value of goods produced. This focus on *manufactures* rather than *manufacturers* or *manufactories* was in part a product of the report's early mission. A census aimed at determining the extent of economic independence naturally would be more concerned with how many goods were manufactured than with how they were made or by whom. Within its haphazardly organized columns, however, the census report also reflected the remarkable eclecticism of American manufacturing in 1810. Statistics on homespun cloth coexisted with figures on pro-

duction at Slater's textile mills. Calculations of the total amount of goods produced by village blacksmiths were included in the same section as statistics on rolling and slitting mills. The production figures for Lynn's shoemakers could be found not far from those for country-made buckskin overalls. The wide variety of manufactures enumerated and the lack of systematic organization made the census a statistical disaster, but in fairness to Coxe and Gallatin, how could anyone have found a systematic way to organize a census touching on so many and such various establishments? How could anyone have succinctly defined the terms *manufactures* and *manufactory* well enough to measure them in a statistically meaningful way?

A decade later, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams took great care to address these problems when he devised the schedule for the 1820 Census of Manufactures. He found Seybert's criticisms particularly compelling, and he largely adopted them in the 1820 census. The new form was therefore much more exact statistically. It asked fourteen easily answered quantitative questions, focusing on the type and quantity of raw materials used by manufacturing establishments, the number of employees, the amount and cost of machinery, the amount of expenditures, and the value of goods produced.[74] Clearly Adams' intent was to produce standardized and easily comparable information. Despite the increased statistical sophistication, this census, too, was widely criticized. Once again *Niles' Register* predicted that slipshod execution would result in it having "been better if the subject of the inquiry had been altogether omitted." Subsequent criticism centered on the lack of training and persistence of the enumerators, but returns also show that manufacturers themselves were often unwilling to respond to the detailed questions, afraid, no doubt, to give away trade secrets or invite taxation in a time of great economic turbulence following the panic of 1819.[75]

The 1820 census reflected the popular understanding of an economy consisting of three tightly knit sectors. For the first time ever, the regular census sought to determine the size of these sectors by having census takers ask each household the "number of persons engaged in" agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. As Adams noted in his instructions to the marshals, these seemingly straightforward questions could, in practice, be quite difficult to answer. "No inconsiderable portion of the population will probably be found," he wrote, "the individuals of which being asked, to which of these classes they belong, will answer, to all three." Yet, he continued, the congressional directive for the census must be interpreted as demanding that each respondent should be placed in only one of the three sectors. "Of those whose occupations are exclusively agricul-

tural or commercial, there can seldom arise a question" of the sector to which they belonged, Adams wrote, but it would not be as simple to determine who should be considered a manufacturer. According to Adams' interpretation of the census legislation, one group clearly was to be excluded from this category. These were "household" manufacturers, for whom manufacturing was "only incidental, and not the profession properly marking the class of society to which such individual belongs." Adams came to this conclusion based on Congress's desire to "take an account of the several manufacturing establishments and their manufactures . . . except household manufactures" in the special manufacturing census. From this directive, he reasoned, household manufacturers should not be counted as part of the manufacturing sector in either portion of the census. This interpretation was important, for it gave official sanction to the idea that manufacturing was something performed in establishments or workshops rather than in the home.

In further defining the manufacturing category, Adams implicitly noted the differences between manufacturers and mechanics. The manufacturing sector, according to Adams' directive, would include "not only all the persons employed in what the act more specifically denominates manufacturing *establishments*, but all those artificers, handicraftsmen, and mechanics, whose labor is pre-eminently of the hand and not upon the fields."[76] Here, mechanic, handicraftsmen, and artificer all appear to refer to people who work with their hands in workshops or nonfactory settings. People "employed in . . . manufacturing establishments" presumably referred not just to factory employees but also to owners, for elsewhere Adams clearly used "employed" as a synonym for "involved." Thus, manufacturers were associated with factories rather than more traditional workshops. That the manufacturing sector included artificers, handicraftsmen, and mechanics, as well as those involved with manufacturing establishments, reflected the continuing heterogeneity of American manufacturing. Now, however, unlike in 1810, factories were clearly assumed to be the typical manufacturing sites.

The questions asked by the census takers, too, reflected the new assumption that manufacturing typically occurred in factories. When the census asked manufacturers about their employees, it divided them into three categories—men, women, and boys and girls. Noticeably absent were the traditional craft categories of journeymen and apprentices. Despite this absence, some respondents persisted in categorizing their employees this way, but the question was clearly designed with the factory in mind rather than the workshop.[77] Similarly, the form asked about expenditures "paid annually for wages," reflecting an assumption

that wage labor rather than the apprentice system was the norm. The emphasis on machinery, with two questions focusing on the kinds and quantities used, also revealed a basic assumption that the mechanized factory was the norm.

Manufacturing and the manufacturing interest, therefore, referred to a very different set of concepts in the 1820 census than they had in 1810. In the earlier census a set of products defined manufacturing. Gallatin, Coxe, and the census takers may have been unsure of the exact parameters of the manufacturing sector, but they seem to have assumed that it consisted of a finite number of categories of goods. Increasing manufacturing implied increasing the amount of goods produced. The question of who was producing the goods or how they did so was relatively unimportant, so long as the products got made. By 1820, however, the emphasis was much more on a particular form of production, the large factory. This change represented a shift in perceptions more than a change in economic reality. Most goods were not manufactured in factories in 1820, but during the preceding decade the public, or at least public officials with little background in making things, clearly had come to identify factories with manufacturing. The new manufacturing class had largely succeeded in redefining manufacturing while retaining the desirable connotations associated with it from the time of the Revolution, when manufacturers had been understood to be small producers.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Promoting Manufacturing in the New Century

Looking back over the first half of the nineteenth century from its midpoint, Leverett Saltonstall told the Essex Agricultural Society, "We live emphatically in an age of association. . . . It was reserved for our day to discover that this great element of man's power, combined effort, is the lever which is to move the world."[1] Saltonstall's Tocquevillian description of the early nineteenth century was certainly true for the friends of manufacturing, as well as for agricultural societies and many others, but the secret of "combined effort" had also been well understood in the late eighteenth century. In that era, members of mechanic committees, manufacturing societies, and agricultural societies ceaselessly worked together to promote the new economy while the public at large expected to influence the policy of individual manufacturing projects and to be able to petition government when any portion of the economy needed protection. It was not quite economic democracy, but it sometimes came close. In the twenty-first century, when economic policy is the terrain of experts and corporate meetings (although technically open to at least the shareholding public) are conducted behind a veil of secrecy or indifference, such public engagement with economic and corporate policy appears to be a relic of the past.

During Saltonstall's early-nineteenth-century "age of association," the public as a whole actually lost influence in the effort to promote manufacturing. These were years in which the growth of factory production kept manufacturing at the forefront of public discourse. But time had not stood still, and this new burst of pro-manufacturing enthusiasm occurred in an economic environment that differed in significant ways from that of the previous generation. As we have already seen, after 1800 the public understanding of what it meant to manufacture was undergoing a transformation, away from more traditional visions of artisans and household production toward the ideal of the factory. At the same time, the scale of manufacturing production was rapidly expanding as new-style factories began to spring up along rural waterways. The result of these devel-

opments was that the voices of small producers, and especially those of urban mechanics, were far less powerful in this period than they had been in the late eighteenth century. Probably the most important factor was the ruralization of manufacturing, which brought more and more economic development into regions where laborers, frequently women and children, had little to no political influence. As increasingly large factories sprung up throughout the countryside, the corporate form of organization also emerged, and where corporations flourished, small producers usually wielded still less influence. Finally, the redefinition of the public understanding of manufacturing toward larger factories further weakened the position of small producers, who were coming to be viewed as somewhat anachronistic and peripheral to the effort to promote manufacturing.

In the late eighteenth century, the movement to promote manufacturing in all the major cities had experienced similar trajectories. Mechanics and their umbrella committees initially dominated the discussion, but by the 1790s manufacturing societies consisting primarily of merchants with some prominent mechanics took the lead. After 1800 the story became more complex, in part because two different models of industrial capitalism emerged. The first was best typified by Philadelphia's relatively small manufactories. These establishments, many run by skilled manufacturers with only moderate amounts of capital, worked together to form a flexible system within which each small unit was easily able to modify production schedules or retool with little notice. Philip Scranton, in his outstanding study of this system, has termed it "proprietary capitalism."[2] The second system, corporate capitalism, was best typified by the large textile factories of Lowell, Massachusetts. Owned by an extremely well-capitalized corporation, this project and others like it aimed not for flexibility but for volume and vertical integration.[3] Such manufacturing corporations never emerged as an important force in Philadelphia during this period, probably because proprietary capitalism was already deeply entrenched.[4] In areas with less well-developed manufacturing sectors, however, corporations became the early-nineteenth-century norm.

These developments also shaped two divergent models of the pro-manufacturing public sphere. The first, most evident at Philadelphia, was reminiscent of the vibrant late-eighteenth-century public sphere composed of a collection of voluntary associations. This model was well suited for proprietary capitalism, where many small proprietors needed to keep lines of communication open so that they could work together. Baltimore, too, briefly followed Philadelphia's voluntary association model in the period after the embargo, but the impetus

there was not so much the need of proprietors to associate with each other as the desire of a small group of manufacturing pioneers to gain public support and capital for their projects. In Boston and New York City, however, pro-manufacturing enthusiasm came to be dominated by new corporations. Baltimore moved toward this model after 1810. Once corporations took on the promotional and economic functions that the voluntary associations had formerly carried out, manufacturing started to move out of the public sphere. That is, corporations began to privatize manufacturing by doing relatively little to publicize their activities or to solicit approval from those who did not own their stock.

Proprietary Capitalism and Voluntary Associations

In Philadelphia the economic warfare of the first decade of the new century spurred the creation of a new assortment of pro-manufacturing associations. These groups, formed between 1804 and 1810, had much in common. All employed the familiar pro-manufacturing rhetoric, stressing the need for economic independence and the harmony of interests. They also had overlapping directorates, with the same men frequently belonging to two or more boards simultaneously. When viewed as an entity, these organizations presented a coherent program of attracting new capital to manufacturing, forming a widespread network for procuring materials from the countryside, creating new domestic markets for locally made goods, and promoting harmony among the city's producers.

The first of these new societies was a revival of Tench Coxe's old Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts, which had ceased operations after its factory burned in 1790. Toward the end of 1803 Coxe and others, many of whom had been active in the original group, surveyed the city's burgeoning manufacturing sector and decided that conditions were ripe for a revival of the Pennsylvania Society.[5] Despite the confident language of an early report, nothing seems to have come of their efforts until, spurred by the embargo, the society published a new constitution and began a subscription drive to capitalize a $50,000 project by selling $50 shares of stock, payable on an installment plan. As it had in the 1780s, the Pennsylvania Society sought maximum public participation in its activities. To achieve this goal, the directors appointed sixty-five men from every ward of the city to a subscription committee aimed at selling stock to a wide cross section of the public. As usual, Coxe used newspapers and pamphlets to publicize the project further. Nevertheless, the campaign fizzled rather quickly. No word of the project was published after 1808, despite

the fact that the constitution stipulated that subsequent meetings must be announced in local newspapers.[6]

The failure of Tench Coxe's revived organization, despite immense enthusiasm for manufacturing in 1808, may well have been due to the fact that it had become anachronistic. The purpose of the original Pennsylvania Society had been to attract merchants' interest and, more important, their capital to domestic manufacturing. Despite its destruction by fire, the first society had made important progress toward achieving these goals, and by 1808, as Coxe himself noted, Philadelphia had acquired a fairly large manufacturing base. The need in 1808, therefore, was not so much to attract merchant capital to new manufacturing projects as it was to support existing manufactories and their proprietors. This, broadly, was the goal of three other organizations formed in Philadelphia between 1806 and 1808.

The first of these, the Domestic Society, was founded in 1806, but its origins went back more than ten years earlier. It was the product of an informal pro-manufacturing salon that had begun meeting in the 1790s toward the end of the manufacturing society movement. This group of manufacturers had continued to meet, "spending a few hours of leisure, when it suited them" discussing "canals, roads, improvements in arts and sciences, and manufactures." The immediate impetus for the group was an address published by Walter Franklin, Abraham Small, and the pioneering type manufacturer Archibald Binny. Their proposal eventually resulted in the new society, which hoped to "encourage the industry of those who had not capital nor large credit [and] to take [manufactures] in deposit and to sell at such a premium as would defray house and clerk expenses."[7]

In 1806 the society drew up a constitution indicating that its primary function would be to run a warehouse for the sale of American-made textiles, presumably to help American manufacturers find a wider market for their products and to eliminate the cost of selling through merchant middlemen. The makers of these goods would be allowed an advance of up to one-half their products' value if they deposited them in the society's South Third Street warehouse. If and when the products were sold, the society would pay the manufacturers the rest, less interest and a commission fee. Articles that did not sell within six months would be auctioned off with the net proceeds going to the manufacturer.[8] By March 1808 a number of manufacturers had begun to deposit their products at the warehouse; the society advertised for sale "a handsome and general assortment of American manufactured fine and common calicoes . . . shawls, pocket handkerchiefs, etc. with a variety of other articles too tedious to insert."[9]

The Philadelphia Premium Society, established in 1808 was another effort to publicize textile manufacturing. It appears to have been an offshoot of the Domestic Society. The society held meetings at the Domestic Society warehouse, and five of its thirteen offices were held by Domestic Society directors, including the new president, John Dorsey, whose carpet manufactory was also supported by the Domestic Society.[10] The society offered premiums ranging from $15 to $50 for outstanding textiles produced anywhere within the United States. Although there was little competition for many of the prizes, David Humphreys won $50 for producing the best piece of broadcloth. Besides creating publicity, its founders may also have hoped their project would help to consolidate Philadelphia's position as the leading market for textiles, for all goods entered in the contest for premiums were to be sold in Philadelphia "by the agents of the Domestic Society, agreeably to their established practice, unless the proprietor shall give orders to the contrary." The society sought incorporation and a $1,000 annual stipend from the state in 1809.[11] In the autumn of 1808, a number of Premium Society members began to organize the annual Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinner to which Adam Seybert gave his 1809 address.[12] Seven of the thirteen dinner committee members were also Premium Society directors, and they held their planning meetings at the Domestic Society warehouse.[13]

These pro-manufacturing associations all drew from the same pool of members. Nearly one in four sat on the boards of two of the associations, and the five most active members (7 percent) served on three.[14] Four of these five were prominent mechanics or manufacturers, most with ambitions to extend their influence beyond the manufacturing sector. John Goodman was a director of the Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinner and the Domestic Society and a vice president of the Premium Society. He worked as a blacksmith, but he became a justice of the peace in 1808, and by 1814 he had been elected to the state legislature.[15] John Dorsey was also a director of the dinner and the Domestic Society, and he served as president of the Premium Society. A floorcloth manufacturer, he also worked as an auctioneer. He was elected to the state senate in 1808, and he was a member of the prestigious American Philosophical Society.[16] Hugh Henry and Samuel Smith were mechanics, a shoemaker and a currier respectively, with less political ambition. Both served on the dinner, the Premium Society, and the Domestic Society, but neither appears to have run for local or state office. William Y. Birch was the only member of this inner core not directly involved in manufacturing, but as a stationer and bookseller, he would have had close ties to printers and papermakers.[17]

In Baltimore a similar network of pro-manufacturing voluntary associations sprang up during and after the embargo. As in Philadelphia, these groups sought to create new factories, promote their city as a market for raw materials and finished products, and publicize manufacturing generally. Unlike Philadelphia, however, Baltimore had not previously been much of a manufacturing center. Rather than waking up a semisomnolent manufacturing sector, the embargo triggered a new and unprecedented enthusiasm for manufacturing. The leaders of these organizations were most frequently merchants hoping to gain big profits by capitalizing new factories, not established manufacturers. These associations were hardly products of an existing system of proprietary capitalism; rather, they resembled the earlier promotional societies of the 1790s.

The leading organization in Baltimore was the Union Manufacturing Company. This merchant-dominated association began its life as a classic manufacturing society. It was the product of a public meeting held in January 1808 to discuss the economic opportunities the embargo offered. At this meeting a group of "the first mercantile characters" of the city proposed establishing a textile manufactory on the Jones Falls in the heart of Baltimore. A committee was quickly formed to receive public input on the project. After receiving many letters, especially from mechanics offering their services to the new project, the committee issued a long report to the "people of Maryland" announcing its plans to proceed to form a textile manufacturing corporation and responding to citizens' concerns that the project might not be feasible.[18] This clearly was a prospectus aimed at gaining public support.

Soon the Union Manufactory began the typical two-pronged effort to obtain capital by attracting both individual subscribers and legislative encouragement. By February the company had decided to attempt to capitalize itself at $1 million, with individual shares to sell at $50 each. One thousand of the twenty thousand shares would be reserved for subscription by the state legislature, with the rest to be purchased by the public. In addition, the directors were authorized to seek an act of incorporation from the state. After printing a set of articles of association in the local newspapers, the company formed a subscription committee to sell its stock throughout Maryland. Stock commissioners were appointed in every corner of the state, from Cumberland in the west to Worcester County on the lower Eastern Shore. The commissioners were directed to ensure that stock was widely held in order, no doubt, to create enthusiasm across the state. To guarantee wide dispersion, the directors ordered that all the commissioners begin selling stock on the same day and that no one individual or corporation be

allowed to purchase more than twenty shares on that day. Soon 672 people had purchased 7,000 shares, bringing in $350,000 in capital.[19]

Like earlier manufacturing societies, the Union Manufacturing Company also held well-publicized elections for its offices. The charter laid out an elaborate scheme of weighted votes designed to give smaller investors their say. Owners of one or two shares were given one vote for each share. Larger shareholders received proportionately fewer votes on a sliding scale, progressively reducing the vote-per-share ratio and limiting the total number of votes to fifty. In addition, the first election was widely publicized, with several slates of directors recommended to voters in the pages of the city's newspapers.[20] The company took every effort to make itself attractive to all of the state's citizens, to keep them informed of its activities, and to prevent the Union Manufacturing Company from being dominated by a few large investors.

The second of Baltimore's new pro-manufacturing groups, the Athenean Society,[21] took on functions similar to those of Philadelphia's Domestic and Premium Societies. It was founded in December 1808 "for the promotion of useful arts and manufactures." Like the Union Company, it sold shares (for $20 a piece) and spawned a subscription committee to publicize them. It also sought incorporation from the state, ultimately succeeding in 1810. By early 1809 the new society had opened a warehouse for domestic manufactures on Charles Street, moving in 1811 to Market Street (now Baltimore Street). At the warehouse, the patriotic shopper could find a wide variety of American-made textiles, gloves, bags, combs, sandpaper, and starch. Items not sold within a year were to be auctioned off by the society for the benefit of the depositor. The society did a very steady business, selling over $17,000 worth of domestically manufactured goods in 1809, and over $80,000 by 1812.[22]

The Athenean Society also publicized American manufacturing in two other ways. First, it served as a sort of debating society. Its members met regularly "to promote and discuss such questions as may be deemed necessary for the promotion of useful arts and domestic manufactures." For example, at their May 1809 meeting they deliberated on "what raw material, which the state of Maryland is capable of producing, will be the most useful at this time, in promoting domestic manufactures?"[23] The society was slower in executing its second new function, offering premiums to Americans who produced excellent manufactures, raw materials for manufacture, or new forms of labor-saving machinery. Their constitution had created a fund for this purpose, but it proved inadequate, and the directors asked for further contributions to augment it in 1811. Finally,

in 1812 they offered a series of premiums ranging in value from $20 to $50 for the best examples of various textiles manufactured in the United States.[24]

Baltimoreans founded another society to promote domestic manufacturing in the summer of 1809. Originally a newspaper writer calling himself "a Mechanic" proposed that it be called the Baltimore Republican Mechanical Society. This organization, he suggested, should "encourage by example" by wearing American-made clothing, and it should hold an annual meeting, much like the Philadelphia Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinner, at which "an oration, elucidating the principles of the Society, will be delivered by one of their members, and at which each attending member will be obliged to appear in cloth of domestic manufacture."[25] After a series of well-attended organizational meetings, this proposal became the Maryland Association for the Encouragement of Domestic Manufactures, the members of which pledged "that they will as far as practicable, exclusively wear clothing of domestic manufacture." The following summer, the society issued a detailed report on the progress made by the city's manufacturing sector—that "infant Hercules"—and calling on the friends of manufactures to "persevere in the noble cause in which you have embarked."[26] This publication must have served a purpose similar to that of the speeches at Philadelphia's Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinners.

As in Philadelphia, the membership of these pro-manufacturing groups was frequently overlapping. Roughly a quarter of the sixty-five men identifiable as members belonged to more than one of them.[27] Unlike the Philadelphia network, Baltimore's leaders often had more expertise as merchants than as manufacturers. The founder of the Union Company, William Patterson, was a wealthy merchant whose only earlier exposure to manufacturing appears to have been through his family's brewery.[28] The company's first president, Robert McKim, was a member of an Irish mercantile family that had experience importing textiles from the mother country but appears not to have been involved in manufacturing schemes before this period.[29] Isaac Burneston, the first president and the guiding light of the Athenean Society, was another local merchant. He appears to have first entered manufacturing in 1808 when he built the Baltimore Cotton Manufactory.[30] A few other major players in the city's manufacturing scene had some limited manufacturing experience, most notably brickmakers James Mosher and George Warner, coppersmith Christopher Raborg Jr., and stonemason William Steuart.[31] All in all, the members of Baltimore's pro-manufacturing network could better be described as nascent merchant-manufacturers rather than established manufacturers.

"Charter Mania" and the Privatization of Manufacturing

Interest in manufacturing also increased dramatically in New York and Boston following the embargo. Unlike Philadelphia, however, where the pro-manufacturing public sphere was dominated by an interlocking group of voluntary associations, the characteristic institution in these cities was the business corporation.[32] A New York newspaper correspondent dubbed the new fascination with the corporate form "charter mania." "Not only our banks and underwriters, but our very cloth manufacturers are doubtful of success, until they have obtained a government charter," the correspondent wrote.[33] Charter mania was fed by general incorporation acts for manufacturing companies passed by the Massachusetts and New York state legislatures following the embargo. Baltimore, too, would succumb to this new enthusiasm, but Philadelphia's proprietary capitalists incorporated only rarely during this period.

The emerging corporate capitalism in New York, Massachusetts, and Maryland further privatized manufacturing and thereby removed key discussions from the public sphere. This development was ironic, for manufacturing corporations were frequently chartered specifically for their *public* usefulness, but unlike the manufacturing societies of the previous century or the voluntary associations of the embargo era, corporate capitalism involved relatively few members of the public. While the Philadelphia and early Baltimore societies held large public meetings, these corporations only held shareholder meetings for the few wealthy subscribers. While manufacturing societies had publicized themselves widely, these corporations maintained relatively low profiles. Finally, a significant percentage of manufacturing corporations operated in relatively thinly populated rural areas, while most manufacturing societies were formed in larger urban centers. All of these developments led to a decline both in public involvement in the discussions shaping the future of American manufacturing and in the influence of urban mechanics and smaller manufacturers in the discourse of manufacturing.

Even urban corporations tended to be dominated by merchants, or, less frequently, by wealthy manufacturers. In New York City merchants and lawyers dominated new firms. Nearly 60 percent of the directors of the twelve manufacturing-oriented firms incorporated between 1809 and 1815 fit into this category, while less than a quarter were skilled mechanics or manufacturers. Collectively, the city's four largest new firms, all in mining and refining, had only one manufacturer or mechanic on their boards, despite the assertion of one that they were to provide public benefits "that will result to the mechanic, the

manufacturer, and the community at large, by a ready and cheap supply" of coal.[34] Merchants also dominated the boards of the American Paint Company and the New York Sugar Refining Company. Such projects served as outlets for mercantile capital at a time when overseas trade was dangerous and depressed.

Despite the dominance of merchants, a few well-to-do mechanics and experienced manufacturers were also prominent in New York's new corporations. The Bronx River Paint Company, for example, was built on the established paint manufactory of Herman Vosburgh. As a director of the new corporation, Vosburgh was joined by Jotham Post, a physician whose father had been active in the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen; in addition, a wholesale druggist, a ship chandler, a paint store owner, a bookkeeper, and a merchant sat on the corporate board.[35] Clearly, this group was assembled to provide the company with a balance of manufacturing and financial expertise. Manufacturers also had influence in the New York Manufacturing Company, which was founded in 1812 and known as the "Wire Bank" because it was to use part of its capital for banking and part for wire manufacturing. This project was run by a mix of manufacturers and merchants. The most prominent of those with manufacturing experience was Anthony Post, who had been an important member of both the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen and the New York Manufacturing Society and a long-time politician. The other manufacturer was Samuel Whittemore, a card maker, whose Boston relative sold the firm its card-making machinery. The remaining directors included three merchants, three attorneys, and a grocer.[36]

In Baltimore merchants dominated manufacturing corporations even more completely. More than three-quarters of the directors of the five firms incorporated during this period were merchants or attorneys, while only 12 percent were active mechanics or manufacturers. There was also a small core of directors who were gaining significant manufacturing experience. Many of these men were merchants who had become part of the pro-manufacturing network associated with the city's voluntary associations. The McKim family was the most important example.[37] Congressman Alexander McKim was an outspoken advocate of nonimportation following the War of 1812. He wrote in 1814 that the war had rendered mercantile commerce too difficult, leading merchants to seek "some new mode of employing capital and talents, and hence the spring that has been given to manufacturing." This general observation seems to account for his and other Baltimore merchants' newfound enthusiasm for manufacturing.[38]

In Boston the situation was somewhat different. Here, more than three-

quarters of the directors of the five incorporated firms were mechanics or manufacturers, due largely to their presence on two important firms.[39] The Boston Glass Manufactory was incorporated in 1809 with a capital not to exceed $200,000. Among the five founders were two prominent members of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, Jonathan Hunnewell and Samuel Gore, neither of whom had glassmaking experience. The other leaders of the project included the merchant Samuel Walley and Charles Kupfer, who served as the factory's superintendent. Of the group, only Kupfer appears to have had practical experience in glass manufacturing.[40] The Boston Hat Manufactory was one of the rare manufacturing corporations of the time formed and run solely by mechanics with expertise in the firm's specialty. This company was formed by twenty-eight men, the vast majority of whom were practicing hatters, a year after Boston's hatters had joined together to petition Congress to encourage the nation's hat makers. Although the petition was rejected, the factory managed to receive a charter in January 1810 under the 1809 general act, with the stipulation that its capital not exceed $100,000. By the following summer the company's agent was advertising "a large and general assortment of factory hats," implying that the product was mass-produced in some way.[41] Boston's merchants, when they invested in manufacturing at all, tended to be interested in the large-scale rural factories developing in the city's hinterlands. Thus, merchants like the Boston Associates invested not in town but in the Waltham-Lowell factories. The Boston merchants' relative lack of interest in firms within their own city meant that mechanics and manufacturers had proportionately more impact on the city's small manufacturing scene than did their counterparts in Baltimore and New York.

An important deterrent to greater mechanic participation in most corporations was the price of stock. Shares in the manufacturing societies of the 1780s had been relatively high, generally about $25 each (£10), and shares in the 1808–10 manufacturing societies ranged from $20 to $50.[42] The new corporations' stock generally was still more expensive. A few cost as little as $25 per share, but most were in the $50 to $200 range, with some, such as Maryland's Powhatan Manufacturing Company and the Boston Associates selling shares at $1,000 each.[43] Many of these stocks were clearly beyond the reach of even well-to-do mechanics, and unlike manufacturing societies, which had actively sought subscribers in all quarters, some corporations did little to attract small investors. The Boston Associates, for example, were careful to limit their subscribers to a small coterie of wealthy family members and business associates, several of whom

had invested $40,000 or more.[44] Although other firms may have been more welcoming to small investors, virtually none made the sort of active efforts to attract subscribers that had characterized the well-publicized subscription drives of the earlier manufacturing societies. Perhaps this new generation of manufacturing entrepreneurs decided to rely on smaller groups of large investors instead of large groups of small investors because they recalled their predecessors' frustrating and disastrous efforts to collect the subscriptions pledged in the earlier drives.

"Merino Mania" and the Later Agricultural Societies

Activities to promote manufacturing were increasingly dominated by a narrower more private elite, but the opposite was true of agricultural societies. In the eighteenth century gentleman farmers dominated these organizations. By the 1820s they had substantially democratized. This broadening was due primarily to the problems affecting eastern agriculture. By the early nineteenth century good land, especially in New England, was hard to find. Because of rapid population growth and some soil exhaustion, farmers had to resort to innovative means to reap profits comparable to those of earlier years. To add to the sense of crisis, hundreds of thousands of easterners were abandoning the old lands for new farmsteads across the Appalachians. In the relatively easy years of the late eighteenth century, scientific farming had appealed primarily to dilettantish "gentleman farmers" with time to experiment. By the crisis period of the 1810s and 1820s new methods were increasingly vital to everybody's survival, and agricultural societies, therefore, attracted a broader range of followers.[45]

In the spirit of innovation, these societies frequently recommended crops and domestic manufactures that would allow farmers to profit from the expansion of manufacturing. The ruralization of manufacturing, bringing new mills and millworkers into remote communities, further intensified this trend. Ruralization also limited some forms of farm activity. Although crops and products desired by the factories and their workers could bring great profits to farmers, new factories and expanding national markets also made inexpensive manufactured goods far more affordable, thereby cutting into the demand for farm-made manufactures.

The nineteenth-century agricultural societies first stirred to life in Philadelphia. John Beale Bordley, founder of the old Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture (PSPA) died in 1804 at the age of seventy-six. In his will he left the long-dormant society $750. This bequest prompted a new crew of agricul-

tural enthusiasts to meet at the city coffeehouse the following spring to revive the organization.[46] It was not until three years later, during the embargo of 1808, that the movement would fully reawaken. In just four years, between 1808 and 1812, at least a half dozen new agricultural societies emerged from Massachusetts south to Virginia. Unlike their predecessors, many of these societies, groups such as the Pennsylvania Society for Improving the Breed of Cattle and the Merino Society of the Middle States of North America, would focus on livestock rather than crops and soil improvements. Yet another new Philadelphia group, the Linnean Society, planned to act as a sort of national agricultural consulting bureau.[47] The timing of this revival, coinciding with the economic disruptions of the embargo and nonimportation, was no coincidence. As 1808 dawned, New York's governor, Daniel Tompkins, noted, "The improvement of agriculture, manufactures and commerce will, at all times, and under all circumstances, attract the attention and command the exertions of a just and wise government, but in our present situation . . . it is peculiarly important to adopt all measures in our power, in order to encrease the means of supplying ourselves."[48] The new agricultural societies shared this sense of urgency.

As in the previous century, the leaders of these societies remained in constant contact with each other through a wide correspondence network. Dr. James Mease was perhaps the most important node in this network. As secretary and leading figure of the revised PSPA, he corresponded with an array of American and English agricultural societies. Between 1808 and 1812 he also stood at the center of a fast-growing group of livestock enthusiasts specializing in imported Merino sheep, which promised to provide fine wool for the embryonic American textile industry. Mease, through the PSPA and his Middle States Merino Society, was in frequent correspondence with the leading national Merino promoters—David Humphreys; George Washington Parke Custis of Washington, D.C.; Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York; and E. I. du Pont of Delaware. Much of this correspondence found its way into yet another Mease enterprise, a national journal called the *Archives of Useful Knowledge*. In advertising this ambitious project, Mease announced, "The ingenious men of our country are invited to use this work as the vehicle for announcing their improvements or discoveries." Each volume published numerous speculations and discoveries pertaining to "commerce, manufactures, rural and domestic economy, agriculture and the useful arts."[49] In practice Mease's journal served as a national clearinghouse of information for the agricultural improvement movement much as Carey's *American Museum* had for the pro-manufacturing movement of the 1780s.

The nineteenth-century agricultural societies continued to take more than a passing interest in manufacturing, but as factories began to sprout on both the rural and urban landscape, the societies' understanding of manufacturing took on a dual nature. While they continued to promote the traditional household manufacturing activities that had been so important in the eighteenth century, with the rise of factory production they would attempt to forge firmer connections to newer sorts of manufacturing. Many members had strong interests in that sector. Of the original thirty-eight members of the revised PSPA, at least five, including James Mease, were active in the city's manufacturing societies. John Dorsey and Thomas Leiper, two of the city's leading manufacturing promoters were also PSPA members, and Paul Beck, a leader in the city's Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinners, and his business partner James Caldwell would soon join their ranks.[50] They and their fellow PSPA members focused on improving American livestock in the hope that farmers might produce domestic wool for use in American factories. This new concern was prompted in part by the society's correspondence with George Washington Parke Custis, the stepgrandson of the first president, who in 1803 founded an annual agricultural fair at his Washington, D.C., farm (now the site of Arlington National Cemetery). At an 1806 PSPA meeting Mease read one of Custis's letters on sheep, proposed that he be made an honorary member, and suggested that the society "hold regular shows of cattle" similar to Custis's fairs.[51]

David Humphreys was the new nation's most important wool promoter, although not the first to import high quality Merino sheep. That distinction goes to E. I. du Pont, who imported four lambs from France in 1801, including the celebrated buck Don Pedro. The following year, Humphreys, returning to Connecticut after serving as American minister to the courts of Lisbon and Madrid, brought with him a flock of twenty-five rams and seventy-five ewes. That same year Chancellor Livingston sent a small flock to New York from France, where he served as American minister.[52] Humphreys delivered his first major speech on sheep to the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture on August 28, 1802. In this "Dissertation on the Breed of Spanish Sheep called Merinos" he noted that in New England "much has been done in families toward providing and preparing their own clothing." He went on to laud new forms of textile manufacturing that might be possible with fine wool produced by Merinos. "I do not wish it to be understood, that I am an advocate for forcing the formation of great manufacturing establishments," he assured the members of the agricultural society. "But," he added, "if we cannot find a market abroad for our redundant

E. I. du Pont's prize ram, Don Pedro. Courtesy Hagley Museum and Library.

crops, and thus make remittances in payment of our importations, will it not be good policy to encourage mechanics and artificers to come and consume our provisions?"[53] Perhaps large-scale woolen manufacturing could be the answer to New England's distressed agriculture.

Humphreys continued to promote Merinos vigorously for the next decade. In the fall of 1808 he was the guest of honor at Philadelphia's annual Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinner, where he participated in a series of pro-manufacturing toasts, including one to his native state of Connecticut for encouraging the introduction of Merino sheep. That same year the Massachusetts society published two more of his letters on Merinos, noting that they were "on a subject of increasing importance to American manufactures." The next spring, the *Aurora* printed in full his letter to the Philadelphia Premium Society praising their efforts to encourage American manufactures and predicting that "by employing labor saving machines and such hands as are not competent to the rougher tasks of agriculture and navigation an incalculable treasure may be procured . . . for the United States without diminishing in the smallest degree the produce of the earth." The next year found Humphreys in Washington, D.C., distributing more of his sheep and meeting with Merino enthusiasts such as the architect William Thornton, General John Mason, and John Threlkeld.[54]

With the onset of the embargo in 1808, Humphreys and the other Merino promoters finally began to gain a large following. In 1808–11 a Merino mania swept across the United States as the embargo and nonintercourse acts raised the prices of British woolens, creating a patriotic and economic imperative to develop American textiles. Merino sheep were advertised in newspapers throughout the nation and often sold at absurdly high prices. Even after the market crested, E. I. du Pont made sales totaling more than $4,000 at two 1814 auctions.[55] In Philadelphia a number of leading enthusiasts attending one such auction joined to form the Merino Society of the Middle States of North America in 1810. Du Pont was the president, and members included PSPA mainstays Mease and George Logan. With Humphreys and Livingston to the north and Custis to the south, members of this society served as important links in the national network of Merino promoters. Du Pont alone corresponded with Mease, Custis, and Livingston, as well as lesser known enthusiasts such as PSPA members Richard Peters and James Caldwell, Henry Briscoe of Virginia, and others.[56]

Some of the Merino enthusiasts began textile factories of their own. As usual, Humphreys led the way, purchasing a Derby, Connecticut, mill site along a waterfall some nine miles from New Haven for his "Humphreysville" manufacturing project in 1803. By 1806 he had completed construction of the factory, a one-hundred-foot-long, four-story building equipped with modern machinery, including a forty-spindle jenny, water frames, carding machines, and spinning mules. While Humphreys' main concern was woolen textiles, his complex also produced cotton goods and letter paper, presumably made from rags.[57] E. I. du Pont built a woolen factory near Wilmington in June 1810 with his nephew Victor du Pont and his business partner Peter Bauduy. By 1813 it was capitalized at $40,000, and by the late 1820s it was annually producing twenty to twenty-five thousand yards of cloth while, according to du Pont, still losing money.[58]

A second nineteenth-century flowering of agricultural societies reached its peak a decade later during another economic crisis, the panic of 1819. Between 1817 and 1819 well over twenty new societies bloomed, from Maine to North Carolina. The activity actually preceded the economic troubles, for at least two New York societies formed prior to the recession in 1817. These and many others were planted by Elkanah Watson, the Johnny Appleseed of the movement. Born in Massachusetts in 1758, Watson had traveled throughout the United States, first as an employee of the Brown family of Providence and later as an independent merchant, planter, and schemer. He returned to Massachusetts in 1807 and shortly thereafter founded the influential Berkshire Agricultural So-

ciety. In 1816 he moved to New York, where he immediately helped to organize agricultural groups on the model of his Berkshire society. Two of the first fruits of these efforts were the Otsego and Jefferson County Agricultural Societies.[59] As the rural economy began to disintegrate in 1818, the need for such organizations became more obvious. Although the economic downturn of 1818–20 is often associated with banking excesses, it was prompted by falling agricultural product prices and a very rapid drop in exports.[60] Farmers bore the brunt of the downturn, and they, not surprisingly, were intrigued by agricultural societies that promised a way out of the abyss. These societies sprang up throughout the country, primarily in the interior areas that the depression hit hardest.

By 1817–18 Watson was nearly ubiquitous. On his way to Detroit, Michigan, he spent two days in Auburn, New York, assisting the Cayuga County Agricultural Society. While still on the road he "corresponded with several new societies in [New York] and other states." After his return, he took an exhausting swing through New York State, stopping in Utica to attend the Jefferson County Agricultural Society's first fair. He also wrote several pamphlets urging others to establish societies on the Berkshire model. He sent two copies of one of these pamphlets to each of the fifty counties in New York and one to each of the governors in the United States.[61]

Watson's efforts transformed the agricultural society movement away from the staid eighteenth-century model. Although they had been "conducted by gentlemen of the highest respectability and of ardent patriotism," the eighteenth-century societies, Watson complained, suffered from a "defective system." Sounding much like a preacher in the Second Great Awakening touting a more emotional and popular evangelical Christianity, Watson took credit for creating "a different organization, to seize upon the human heart, to animate, and excite a lively spirit of competition." This so-called Berkshire system featured "music, dancing, and singing, intermixt with religious exercises and measures of solidity, so as to meet the feelings of every class of the community." To achieve these ends Watson staged colorful parades, fairs, and even homespun fashion shows for the ladies.[62] The new popular model spread rapidly after 1811, due largely to Watson's missionary work. Even far to the south, the Maryland Agricultural Society, founded in 1819, began holding "cattle shows and fairs" featuring "fine animals of every sort, most creditable displays of household fabrics, various useful implements of husbandry" and offering prizes aimed at "exciting the emulation in this class of industrious and enterprizing citizens."[63] Like politi-

cians and ministers in the new century, the leaders of economic associations could not afford to ignore the larger public.

One of Elkanah Watson's major innovations was that he recognized the importance of women's work. Eighteenth-century agricultural societies had no place for women, and the gentlemen farmers of the early nineteenth century often seemed more interested in livestock than in women, particularly during the Merino craze. E. I. du Pont's article in Mease's *Archives of Useful Knowledge* lovingly detailed the life and breeding history of his prize buck Don Pedro: "In 1801, Pedro tupped nine ewes at Mr. Dupont's place near New York." It devoted an entire paragraph to this Latin lover's appearance in 1811, describing him as "stout short and wooly, and of much better form than Merinos commonly are; and even better than that of a ram figured in a superb engraving lately received by the Agricultural Society of Philadelphia." But the article gave no mention to the women who must have spun Pedro's wool into yarn, remarking only that in Connecticut "many pieces of cloth have been made" from some of Colonel Humphreys' flock. In another article from the same journal, New York's Chancellor Robert R. Livingston wrote proudly of the fleece produced by "my flock and their descendants" but mentioned only in the vaguest terms "the women who are now spinning some of it."[64]

In contrast to the gentleman farmers, Watson's followers were working farmers, and they lived in the section of the country (New England and upstate New York) where women were most active in the textile industry. Unlike most other regions, farm women here not only spun thread, they also frequently wove fabric in their homes.[65] Watson understood that if his societies were to forge a link between new farm products, such as Merino wool, and manufacturing, they could not ignore the role of the New England spinster. He searched for a way to attract women to his fairs, until he hit upon the idea of a "cloth show," a sort of homespun fashion show where women could display their handiwork and compete for cash prizes offered for the finest homespun products. This approach cleverly sought to exploit women's supposed weakness for fine clothing while at the same time minimizing the dangers of foreign "luxury" by casting women as both producers and consumers of American-made fabrics.[66]

Sadly for the women at Watson's cloth shows, household fabric manufacture would rapidly decline in importance as textile manufacturing moved into the factories between 1810 and 1830. As usual, just as women's work became more lucrative, men took it out of their hands.[67] The contrast between the nonimpor-

tation movements of the 1760s and the 1810s illustrates the decreasing importance of women and homespun. The spinning parties held by the Daughters of Liberty were the very heart and soul of Revolutionary nonimportation, but during the embargo of 1808 and the War of 1812, when patriotic Americans were again implored to turn away from British gewgaws and move toward domestic manufactures, women played a far more marginal role. Although some newspapers, especially those in New England, continued to report on women's patriotic spinning efforts, new factories received far more attention.[68] In New York State special premiums offered for wool cloth made from domestic sheep might have served as a vehicle to publicize women's work, but of 320 premiums awarded between 1809 and 1814, only six went to women. Because the legislation stipulated that any prizewinner must attest that the winning cloth was produced "in *his* family, or under *his* immediate direction," men must have regularly claimed prizes for work their wives and daughters accomplished.[69] Instead of publicizing women's work, this homespun movement served to disguise it.

Whether they were concerned with women's work or constructing large factories, the agriculture promoters all understood the close connections between manufactures and agriculture. This understanding can be seen in the visual imagery du Pont and Humphreys employed in the labels they created for their woolen factories. Du Pont's label, set in a clearly mythical Arcadia, depicted the connection between the agricultural product (a Merino ram) and the finished manufactured goods (rolls of textiles), all under the protecting benevolence of the American eagle. With its sketch of a sheep placed above the Humphreysville factory in its sylvan setting, Humphreys' label also portrayed the juxtaposition of manufacturing and rural life. Similarly, Watson's suggested pattern for tickets to his agricultural societies' "pastoral balls" had at its center a plump sheep surrounded by rural nymphs holding a banner reading "agriculture / manufacture." In the background were grains of wheat, farm products, and a cornucopia of flowers.[70]

Just as these images graphically depicted the material connections between agriculture and manufactures, Mathew Carey's 1824 "Address Delivered before the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture" demonstrated the intellectual links. That Carey, long a leading advocate of urban manufacturing, was chosen to deliver the address is itself an indication that the PSPA recognized the connection. To make this point even more obvious, Carey explained, "The grand object of this address, is to establish an identity of interests between agriculture and manufactures, and the impossibility of inflicting a deep or lasting injury on

the latter, without the former suffering severely."[71] Although they had traveled over different paths, the friends of agriculture and the friends of manufacturing had arrived at the same vision of harmonious economic cooperation.

Bringing the State Back In

One area where this vision certainly had influence is in the phenomenon sometimes known as "state mercantilism."[72] Under state mercantilism state governments provided grants, loans, and privileges (most notably incorporation) to private enterprise. Because these powers developed at a time when government was becoming more democratic, at least in terms of white male suffrage, the opinions of voluntary associations no doubt took on great importance.

State involvement in economic enterprise generally and manufacturing specifically was hardly new in the nineteenth century. It has already been noted, for example, how mechanics gained tariff protection from several of the states during the confederation period. After the ratification of the Constitution state governments lost the power to protect manufacturing using tariffs, but they retained the ability to encourage economic development in a myriad of other ways. This phenomenon has been well studied by so-called commonwealth historians, who, beginning in the New Deal years, sought to show that active government, rather than laissez-faire, has been the norm in American society. The majority of these historians connected this governmental activity in a general way to the European heritage of mercantilism. Some also credited specific American developments, most notably Oscar and Mary Flug Handlin, who coined the term *commonwealth idea*. The idea was essentially a belief in "common action," a spirit of mutuality that was the product of experiences learned on "frontier after frontier." A much more recent analysis has suggested that this idea came not from the frontier but from the English common law emphasis on economic regulation for the "welfare of the people" tempered by republican concern over the primacy of the public good over private interests.[73]

Just as economic interests do not build factories by themselves, abstract intellectual currents do not create legislation. Because most commonwealth historians focused on laws and legislative minutes, they overlooked the larger and more immediate context shaping state mercantilism: the ceaseless activities of manufacturing revolutionaries and other economic promoters. It was their language and their ideas that the legislators used to justify state mercantilism. For example, New York governor Daniel Tompkins' 1811 call to the legislature to

extend "the utmost encouragement and protection which our finances will admit" to manufactures as a means of ending dependence on England and "giving to our industry, our resources and our policy, a new direction calculated to render us really independent" may be viewed merely as a piece of Jeffersonian nonimportation propaganda.[74] Seen within the context of decades of similar pro-manufacturing rhetoric, however, it was clearly part of a larger tradition.

A closer look at the charters of the companies incorporated during "charter mania" reveals similar continuities between the old neomercantilism and the new state mercantilism. Manufacturing firms begun at the start of charter mania were frequently called manufacturing "societies," echoing the nomenclature used by the projects of the 1780s.[75] The old argument that manufacturing was in the public interest remained crucial in the new century. The preamble to New York's Madison Glass Company's charter noted that "the best interests of the community are promoted by the extension of every useful branch of manufactures."[76] The charter of Maryland's Washington Manufacturing Company cited legislators' desire to promote the "laudable exertions" of the state's citizens in establishing manufactories. Economic independence and the balance of trade continued to be important justifications for encouraging manufacturing, as in the charter of New York's Ontario Glass Manufactory: "The encouragement of such institutions must be beneficial to the community at large, in as much as they will save to consumers the amounts, now expended in very distant transportations, and in as much as they will eventually turn that stream of wealth to the nourishment of our own country, which now flows therefrom to the invigorating of foreign nations."[77] A similar, although less explicit reference to the economic independence argument can be found in the charters of Maryland's Union Manufactory and Washington Cotton Manufacturing Companies, both of which stressed that the new manufactories would be making articles "which have hitherto been imported from foreign countries."[78]

The old emphasis on the harmony of interests also remained an important element of the new state mercantilism. This proved a double-edged sword for the urban mechanics and small manufacturers who had launched the post-Revolution pro-manufacturing movement. On the positive side, stressing the importance of supporting agriculture and commerce, as well as manufactures, gained them support from many different quarters. On the negative side, aid to manufacturing would represent a relatively small portion of new state initiatives to support all three branches. A good example is the state of New York, which

created by far the most ambitious state mercantilism program. Between 1785 and 1826 the Empire State funneled nearly $6.5 million dollars into private enterprise, with the years 1785–97 and 1808–16 as the peak periods. The largest investment was in agriculture ($3.6 million), followed by commerce, primarily banking and transportation ($2.5 million); manufacturing ($300,000) was a distant third.[79] Pennsylvania also offered numerous incentives to private enterprises, frequently in the form of state investment in new companies. By 1820 the state had invested more than $2 million in banks, $1 million in turnpike companies, and over $200,000 in bridges and canal companies.[80] State investment in many of these firms was so heavy that the historian Lewis Hartz has termed them "mixed corporations," meaning that the state provided so much of their capital that they were neither fully private nor fully public. Massachusetts occasionally offered loans or outright grants to businesses, but more often its legislature offered special privileges, such as exclusive franchises, lotteries, rights to use public ways, and land grants.[81]

Much of the support for farming came in conjunction with the agricultural societies. Initially, the major benefit was incorporation. The gentlemen of the revived PSPA led the way when they began to lobby for state incorporation in the winter of 1807. By February 1809 the state legislature agreed to the request, noting that "it is the manifest interest of free governments to cherish and encourage institutions of such a nature."[82] In the next decade at least nine other agricultural societies throughout the northeast would profit from individual state incorporation acts, and many others would benefit from general incorporation laws. In Massachusetts, Elkanah Watson's Berkshire Agricultural Society was incorporated in February 1811. In the preface to the act, the legislators noted that it was their duty under the state constitution "to encourage private societies and publick institutions [offering] rewards and immunities for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country." Following this logic, the general court would incorporate several other similar groups before passing, at Watson's urging, a general incorporation act for agricultural societies. Under this 1819 act, the state also pledged a minimum $200 annual state subsidy for any such society able to raise $1,000 privately. New York and Pennsylvania quickly followed suit. The New York bill, for which Watson also lobbied, set aside $10,000 annually for societies promoting agriculture and domestic manufacturing, urging that one be founded in each of the state's fifty counties. Watson reported that such societies had been begun in all

but six New York counties by the end of the year. Pennsylvania's general assembly promised every county agricultural society a subsidy of $50 for each member of the legislature elected from their county.[83]

Besides incorporating and subsidizing agricultural societies, the states passed a number of other laws aimed at supporting agriculture. In 1808 the Pennsylvania General Assembly authorized the Company for Promoting the Cultivation of Vines to hold a lottery to raise $7,000. This society, to which James Mease and Mathew Carey belonged, sought to induce Pennsylvania farmers to plant vineyards in order to spur domestic wine production. That same year, Pennsylvania also tried to entice farmers to raise Merino sheep, using dog taxes to allow each county to buy several studs to be loaned to local farmers.[84] But the most important state legislation of this period came in New York. Between 1808 and 1816 the state loaned more than $1 million to farmers. It also routinely reimbursed Chancellor Livingston's Albany agricultural society for publication costs, and during the embargo of 1808 New York began to promote domestic wool manufacturing through an extensive series of state-funded premiums administered by Livingston's society. Between 1809 and 1814 the state granted more than $15,000 in prizes for wool cloth made from New York sheep. By 1816 Watson was lobbying the federal government to create a national board of agriculture to coordinate activities throughout the states. Having failed in that effort, he turned to the New York legislature, which created a statewide board in 1820.[85]

Although commerce and agriculture benefited most from this bonanza, manufacturers also profited, especially after 1808. In New York, the state's generosity came in two waves. Following the manufacturing society boom, between 1790 and 1797, it loaned out $67,500. Then, after a period of inactivity coinciding with state fiscal problems and a general decline in enthusiasm for manufacturing, the state opened its coffers even wider between the embargo and the War of 1812. From 1808 to 1816, it loaned out $179,000 to manufacturing firms by special legislative acts and probably much more through the state School Fund, created in 1805 to provide revenue for schools. Money in this fund, which reached $1 million in 1819, was used primarily as a means for the state to provide capital to local businesses, a course of action that provided steady returns for the state but little assistance for education. In addition, a special act passed in 1808 authorized the state to offer small loans, in the aggregate of $450,000, to farm families engaged in domestic manufactures.[86] Pennsylvania's legislature also commonly granted loans of this sort, despite resisting the use of corporate charters, and Massachu-

setts, too, occasionally made loans to manufacturers, although much less frequently after 1800.[87]

Perhaps the most notable component of state mercantilism during this period was the power to grant incorporation. Far from routine in the early nineteenth century, the corporate form offered special privileges to those companies that received it. Not only did it make companies more efficient and less vulnerable to the death of a partner or disputes between investors, it also gave companies the power to create legally binding bylaws and even allowed them to assess further investment contributions from stockholders. States frequently granted corporations special privileges such as exemptions from local laws, and often at the time of incorporation legislatures invested capital in their creation.[88]

Soon after the embargo, both Massachusetts and New York passed laws to routinize incorporation for manufacturing firms. The Massachusetts law of March 1809 provided a standard form for chartering corporations "carrying on any kind of manufacture or manufactures" within the commonwealth. Over the next six years the state chartered 121 new manufacturing corporations, including, in the single year of 1814, twenty-four textile firms, a porcelain and glass manufactory, a file factory, and a wire factory.[89] In keeping with the emphasis on new-style textile factories, New York passed "an act relative to incorporations for manufacturing purposes" in 1811 permitting the immediate incorporation of any textile, glass, metal, and paint firms capitalized at or below $100,000. Unlike the Massachusetts act, it also offered limited liability to investors. A total of 111 manufacturing firms were incorporated under its provisions between 1811 and 1815. Another thirty-five firms were chartered by special legislative acts during this period, bringing the total number of new manufacturing corporations, most producing textiles, to 146.[90] Despite the lack of a general statute, manufacturing incorporations in Maryland also increased. Although not a single charter had been issued to manufacturers in the Free State before 1808, in 1808–16 fifteen were granted, including five each in 1815 and 1816, an annual figure that would not be exceeded until 1836. By contrast, Pennsylvania incorporated only seven manufacturing firms between 1808 and 1815, despite its extremely active industrial sector.[91]

By bringing democratic government into private business, state mercantilism arguably gave the public (or at least the voters) real power to determine the course of economic development. At the same time, because of the dynamic of the legislative process, it also made it more difficult for small, politically uncon-

nected businessmen to compete. A good illustration of these developments is Pennsylvania's Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, one of many banks chartered in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, ostensibly to give small producers access to credit. A group of Philadelphia artisans and manufacturers observed in a petition urging the state to charter the Bank of Philadelphia, "Manual industry, arts, and manufactures, must, like more enlarged commerce, ever depend upon credit in some measure." The founders of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank tapped into the same vein when, in their proposed incorporation act, they noted their bank was "calculated to advance the interests of agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanical arts, to produce benefits to trade and industry in general, and to repress the practice of usury."[92]

Behind the rhetoric, and mostly out of public scrutiny, the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank had very different concerns. Its primary goal was to get a charter, and in order to succeed it was less necessary to convince the legislators of the bank's public utility than it was, in effect, to bribe them. Negotiating with the legislators successfully necessitated the services of a reasonably informed lobbyist, so the bank relied first on James Sharswood, a well-to-do bank director, and, later, on Joseph Clay, a local politician who was appointed bank cashier.[93] The bankers initially drew up several proposals for a charter, the third of which included a large payment to the legislature. A surprised Sharswood wrote back that "Notwithstanding all we had heard of the Members being ashamed of the practice of selling charters, etc., I soon found that our third proposal pleased them best." Thereafter, the chief sticking point would be how much to pay the state for the charter. Nearly two years later Clay wrote the directors that because many legislators rejected the bank's offer of $80,000 as too paltry, the outcome of the charter quest was still very uncertain. Some legislators went so far as to insist on $100,000, but in the end the bank was able to negotiate to $75,000, to be paid by the bank to the state, which in turn would invest the money in bank stock. The legislature also struck the proposed preamble to the charter, which had stressed the bank's dedication to small producers and its hostility to usury. The deletion was "of no consequence," Clay assured the directors.[94]

The history of the New York Manufacturing Company or "Wire Bank" touches on similar issues. This unusual project yoked a manufactory to a bank. The preamble to its 1812 charter stressed "the importance of such an establishment to the manufactories of cotton and wool cloth, the difficulty of inducing persons to invest their money in untried enterprizes, however important to the general welfare, and the necessity of allowing them the privilege of annexing a

banking institution to their establishment, to enable them to carry the same into effect." Besides plain wire, the manufacturing operation would also produce wire wool and cotton cards, which were vital components for the textile industry. But what was the relationship of the manufacturing side to the banking side of the company? Early literature tended to emphasize the manufacturing operation, hinting the bank was primarily a means of providing capital for making the wire cards, without which "the whole manufacture of cotton and woolen goods must cease altogether."[95]

As events developed, the manufactory increasingly appeared to be adjunct to the bank. The company's original charter capitalized it at $1.2 million, stipulating that $250,000 must immediately be invested in the manufacturing operation, with $50,000 to be added annually for the next five years. A year later the directors were already trying to minimize the manufacturing requirement by requesting that the state allow them to sell $800,000 in additional stock while waiving the requirement for annual investments into the factory. The state refused, allowing the company only to lower the total investment required for the factory by $150,000, and further stipulating that the company could not use the money thereby saved for banking operations. The next year, the company asked to be allowed to invest this $150,000 in banking. The proposal did not even make it to the full legislature. The committee that killed it argued, with some reason, that the company appeared to be attempting to ditch its manufacturing requirement in order to enter banking on a much larger scale.[96]

In the cases of both the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank and the Wire Bank, state mercantilism did not work entirely as advertised. Patriotic economic rhetoric yielded to the realities of greed—both on the part of the state legislators and private businessmen. Calls for economic independence and a harmony of interests could become shields to protect self-interest. Yet these cases do not entirely discredit state mercantilism. Like any movement, it could be corrupted, and from the point of view of small producers, it may well have helped wealthy, politically connected merchants far more than they had hoped. However, without it and the public concern for economic development that lay behind it, many of the manufacturing projects conceived during this period might never have been born. A half century of pro-manufacturing rhetoric did bear fruit, even if some of it might have tasted bitter to those who had planted the first seeds.

CHAPTER NINE

Political Parties and Manufactures

As manufacturing was becoming more elitist, American politics was democratizing. Although the leaders of the first parties, the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans, were hardly men of the people, the dynamics of party politics quickly forced them to expand their ranks in order to survive. By appealing to a wide range of supporters, the new parties offered some opportunity for manufacturing promoters interested in using government to support their cause. They also presented obstacles. Before the onset of parties, mechanics, manufacturers, and others promoting economic change had formed nonpartisan voluntary associations to advance their agendas. These groups, much like their British predecessors, frequently lobbied government for support. With the emergence of the first parties, members of these groups were becoming Federalists or Republicans first and mechanics, manufacturers, or merchants second. Neither party spoke entirely for any specific group. This shift toward political partisanship tended to dilute the power of each group. Parties may have expanded democracy in some ways, but they also disempowered certain economic interests.

A pro-manufacturing party might have made great progress in laying the groundwork for economic change. Instead, the friends of manufacturing occupied both parties and dominated neither. Nonetheless, they had some success in influencing both parties at different times. In the days of Hamilton and mechanic federalism, the Federalists had appeared to be friendliest to the new economy, but by the period of the embargo and War of 1812 they were far less enthusiastic about it than were their rivals. The Republicans warmed to manufacturing by the early nineteenth century when they began calling for a new economy resting on *domestic production* in contradistinction to the Federalists' growing emphasis on overseas trade. Federalists, for their part, became increasingly uncomfortable with Hamiltonian mercantilism, arguing instead for a policy of "unrestricted" or "free" trade consistent with their focus on overseas commerce. These Federalists were hardly opposed to manufacturing generally. However, their emerging political economy led them to be wary of government

support for manufacturing, which, coupled with their essential conservatism, led them to oppose Republican efforts to plant modern factories in the new republic.

Flashback: The Drift toward Republicanism

As the first party system began to form in the mid-1790s in reaction to Alexander Hamilton's fiscal program, the friends of manufacturing were torn. The Federalists' energetic approach to government and apparent support for manufacturing were attractive, but for many, especially the smaller producers, the SUM was also troubling. Soon, foreign policy issues would also alienate many of them from the Federalists. By the turn of the nineteenth century many, if not most urban advocates of manufacturing had flocked to the party of Jefferson, an ironic development considering the Virginian's well-known pronouncement that his countrymen should "let our workshops remain in Europe."[1]

The initial spur to this realignment was the debate over foreign policy and commercial discrimination in the mid-1790s. James Madison was the key national politician in this episode. In late 1793 he began a campaign to convince Congress to increase duties on manufactures as a means of fighting British commercial discrimination against the United States.[2] Although it was not his intention to provide continuing support for manufacturing, a substantial portion of urban mechanics took heart at the proposed strike against their competition. In all the major cities they demonstrated their support for Madison's proposals at public meetings. In Boston a newspaper writer calling himself "A Ship Carpenter" urged mechanics to attend the town meeting. After the merchant-led meeting rejected new duties, "A Looker Out" accused the merchants of being under British influence and of having bullied the mechanics into joining them.[3] At the Republican-sponsored New York meeting several anti-British declarations received the support of the crowd, which contained a significant number of mechanics. One of New York's leading Federalist mechanics, silversmith and former alderman William Gilbert, defected to the Republicans at this time.[4] In Philadelphia, too, mechanics approved of the Republican measures, especially the hatters, who reached out to their counterparts in other cities to support a national petition to Congress favoring nonimportation.[5] At about the same time, the Federalist-sponsored excise taxes of 1794, which failed to protect manufactures and placed restrictions on exports, further disillusioned many of Philadelphia's most prominent manufactures and mechanics with Hamilton's party.[6]

The continuing debate over foreign policy combined with these concerns to make the Democratic-Republicans appear still more attractive. By 1793 American mechanics were enthusiastically praising the French Revolution. New York City's General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, for example, drank toasts to the National Convention of France, the Rights of Man, and the French Republican Army at their 1793 annual meeting. The following year Philadelphia mechanics joined together to celebrate Bastille Day.[7] The popular pro-French Democratic societies formed by the Democratic-Republicans helped to anchor the mechanics' hostility to monarchy and their enthusiasm for liberty, equality, fraternity, and the party of Jefferson and Madison.[8]

At this crucial juncture, the Federalist administration's Jay Treaty further alienated pro-manufacturing mechanics on two important grounds. First, by signaling closer relations with England, it clarified the distinction between the Federalists' apparent Anglophilia and Republican Francophilia. Second, by liberalizing trade with Great Britain, Jay's treaty threatened to push America back into its old colonial dependence on British manufactures. Only a decade earlier, American mechanics had been horrified at the extent to which British manufactures had been dumped on the American market, and this concern had sparked their first efforts to gain tariff protection. Thus, the Federalists' efforts to cozy up to England managed to offend both the economic interests and the foreign policy sensibilities of many urban mechanics. These mechanics demonstrated repeatedly against the treaty in 1795–96. Whether they burned Jay in effigy, as they did in Philadelphia, or merely lit bonfires, as in New York, they directed their anger not only against Jay, but also against the Federalist party.[9]

At the same time that urban mechanics were moving into the Republican camp, two of the new nation's most prominent manufacturing promoters were becoming disillusioned with Federalism. Tench Coxe effectively coauthored the *Report on Manufactures* as Hamilton's assistant, and as a private citizen he wrote dozens of pro-manufacturing pamphlets and articles in journals such as Philadelphia's *Aurora* and the influential *American Museum.* Increasingly unhappy with Hamilton's Anglophilia, Coxe began forging links with Secretary of State Jefferson, aiding him with several economic reports. Angry at the administration's apparent capitulation to British demands, he wrote a scathing attack on Jay's treaty in 1795, and by 1800 he was openly in the Jeffersonian camp. After Jefferson's election he advised the administration on manufacturing and internal improvements before being appointed purveyor of the United States in 1803.[10]

Like other manufacturing supporters, Mathew Carey had been an ardent be-

liever in an energetic government and in Hamilton. But as an Irishman who had twice been forced to flee his homeland by English authorities, Carey was understandably uncomfortable with the Federalists' increasingly pro-English orientation. He broke definitively with them in 1794–95 when he opposed Federalist policies in dealing with Barbary Coast pirates, defended the Democratic Societies, and combated Jay's treaty. Despite defecting to the Republicans, he maintained enormous respect for the Treasury secretary's fiscal policies, continuing to use the nom-de-plume "Hamilton" into the 1820s in a series of essays calling for greater government support for manufacturing.[11]

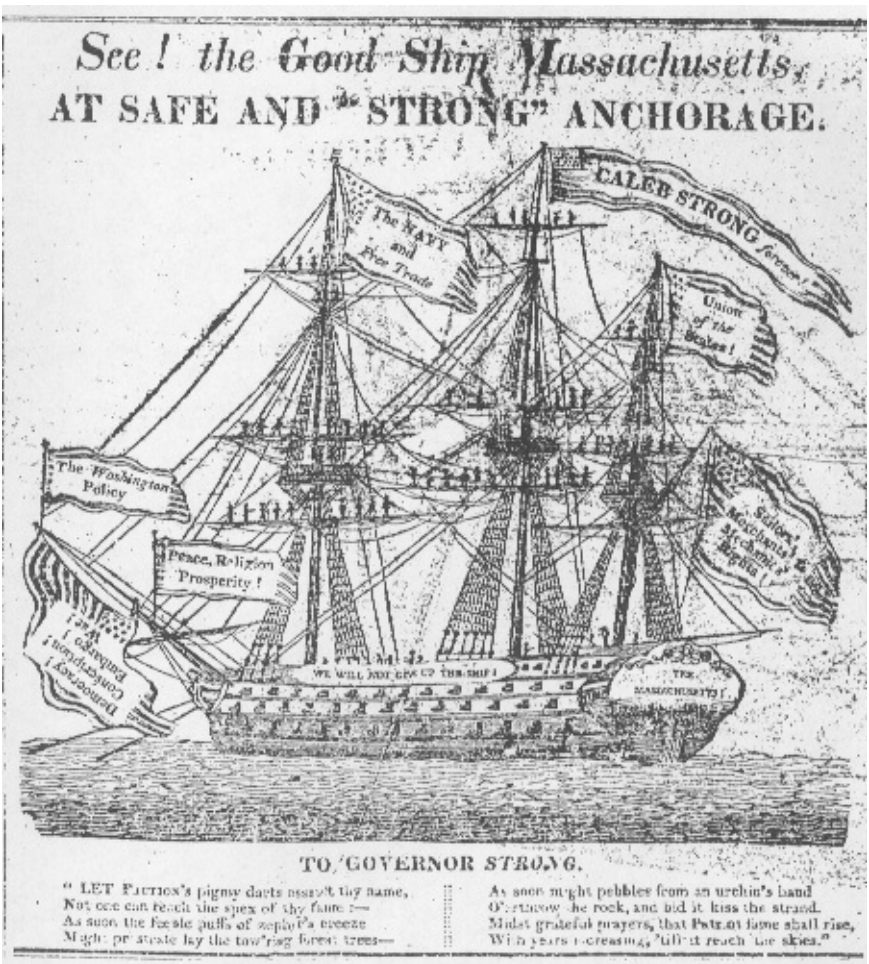
By the first decade of the nineteenth century manufacturing supporters were at least as likely to be Republicans as Federalists. New England, where substantial numbers of Providence and Boston mechanics clung to federalism, was the most conspicuous exception. Even in Boston, Republicans maintained a significant mechanic following. Nascent Republican-Federalist divisions had destroyed the city's Association of Tradesmen and Manufacturers as early as 1790, and Benjamin Austin, the city's leading mechanic-politician was an antifederalist who quickly became a leading Republican. By 1812, a Federalist speaker hinted at widespread support for Republicans when he warned the Massachusetts Mechanic Association that French affection "like an artful courtezan leaves you in disgrace."[12] Baltimore's most important manufacturing promoters were nearly all Republicans, and one, Alexander McKim, served in Washington as a Republican Congressman.[13] All but one of the directors of the Union Manufacturing Company, the city's most important and most publicized manufacturing project, were Republicans.[14] Although Philadelphia Republicans splintered into three loosely defined but highly contentious factions, support for manufacturing transcended the divide. A British traveler to Philadelphia at this time observed that the Federalist and Republican parties were respectively "merely other terms for importers and manufacturers."[15] While this distinction no doubt greatly simplified the situation, it contained much truth. Adam Seybert is a good example. Although an affluent physician and as wealthy as many Federalists, he voted Republican, unlike many of his merchant neighbors. He even served as a Republican congressman, no doubt in part because as a chemical manufacturer and an investor in one of the city's most important new textile factories, he understood that Republicans, more than the Federalists, welcomed the new economy.[16]

Federalists and "Free Trade"

As the nineteenth century dawned, Federalists eased away from their earlier support for manufacturing. By 1809, Federalists in Congress condemned the Republican program of embargo and nonintercourse not only because it was allegedly pro-French but also because it seemed to signal government support for new manufacturing establishments. Elisha Potter, a Federalist congressman from Massachusetts feared that Republicans were conspiring to force Americans into manufacturing. "As long as a young man can work with a reputable farmer two or three years . . . and then take his money and go back into the country and buy him a tract of land, and become himself an independent farmer," proclaimed Potter, who was himself a poor boy turned farmer, "I hope I shall never see them reduced to the necessity of being shut up in a manufacturing establishment, spinning cotton or making pins and needles."[17]

Potter's concerns were fairly typical of the Federalist opposition to any hint that Republicans wished to stimulate manufacturing. On its face such a position might seem to contradict the old Hamiltonian program, but in reality it reflected a steady current of conservative opposition to change. Socially and politically, the Federalists were always elitists uncomfortable with democracy. When they gazed across the Atlantic the radicalism of the French Revolution repelled them, whereas the traditions of England's monarchical republic soothed them. Hamilton's flirtation with government-directed economic change had been something of an anomaly for the party, coming during a period of economic instability, and, perhaps not coincidentally, the *Report on Manufactures* was the only one of his three papers to fail to gain congressional support. By the first decade of the new century, during a period in which the Napoleonic wars offered enormous opportunities for overseas trade, Federalists had disassociated themselves from their earlier effort to initiate economic change, portraying themselves instead as the party of "free trade" or "unrestricted commerce." This position, with its echoes of the still novel liberalism of Adam Smith, might at first glance seem a rather radical position for the hidebound Federalists. In fact, for them, as for many later conservatives, laissez-faire became an excuse for maintaining the status quo rather than a tool to liberate the economy from unreasonable restrictions.

Their chief concern was that Republican initiatives to strengthen manufacturing were actually a conspiracy, possibly with a French accent, to destroy American merchants. Members of a conservative, mercantile party, Federalists insisted that the American economy must continue to be based primarily on


See! the Good Ship Massachusetts,
AT SAFE AND "STRONG" ANCHORAGE.
CALEB STRONG forever!
The NAVY and Free Trade
Union of the States!
The Washington Policy
Peace, Religion Prosperity!
Sailors' Rights!
Unconstitutional Conscription, Embargo, War!
WE WILL NOT GIVE UP THE SHIP!
THE MASSACHUSETTS!
TO GOVERNOR STRONG.
"LET FACTION'S pigmy darts assail thy name,
Not one can reach the apex of thy fame:—
As soon the feeble puffs of zephir's breeze
As soon might pebbles from an urchin's hand
As soon the feeble puffs of zephir's breeze
Might prostrate lay the tow'ring forest trees—
Midst grateful prayers, that Patriot fame shall rise,
With years increasing, 'till it reach the skies."

The Good Ship Massachusetts illustrates Federalist political economy in 1815. Note in particular the Federalist policy of "The Navy and Free Trade" in contrast to the alleged Democratic-Republican position of "conscription, embargo, [and] war." Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

overseas commerce and agriculture rather than new endeavors such as manufacturing. The Good Ship Massachusetts, pictured in Boston's *Columbian Centinel* in 1814 and 1815, illustrates the primacy of overseas commerce in Federalist political economy. Federalists frequently insisted that commerce was the basis of American prosperity. "FARMERS, MERCHANTS, MECHANICS, SEAMEN, WIDOWS, OR-

PHANS! What has hitherto supported our political family. . . . What has given wealth and consequence to the United States, but COMMERCE?" New York's *Evening Post* asked rhetorically. Describing the glory days of Federalist rule, the *Columbian Centinel* noted that "our *commercial* relations were such, as to afford employment for the enterprize of our merchants, demand for the produce of our farmers, prosperity to our mechanics, manufacturers, and our hardy seamen, and bread to the industrious laborer."[18] For these writers, commerce, rather than agriculture or manufacturers, was the wellspring of prosperity.

Federalists' fear that Jefferson's embargo threatened to devastate overseas commerce prompted a spate of free trade rhetoric. In April 1808, calling for attendance at a Boston political rally, Federalists addressed their supporters as "The Steadfast friends of impartial justice, peace, and free trade." In August of that year a Baltimore Federalist urging opposition to the embargo used the pseudonym "Free Trade," and a writer in the *Charleston Courier* argued that instead of restricting commerce, the Republicans should have "indiscriminately permitted a free intercourse with all, leaving it to them to find their way to us as they could."[19] Free trade, in this sense, clearly was tied to opposition to the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts and a belief that "our own restrictions on commerce are more injurious to the country than any which can be laid by foreign powers." The Republicans were implementing an "unnatural diversion of industry and capital" that threatened to injure the economy permanently. Instead of imposing these "visionary maxims" and "utopian measures" aimed at stimulating manufacturing, Republicans should ditch their pie-in-the-sky theories and allow those who know best to determine for themselves how to invest their capital: "If our people had preferred manufactures to trade and agriculture, they would have gone into them in time of peace."[20]

Free trade, however, was a slippery concept. Proponents of trade restrictions could argue they were only instituting temporary measures that, by forcing European powers to stop restricting American ships, would in the long run create true free trade. Some Federalist newspapers initially supported the embargo on these grounds, but by mid-1809 most had begun to oppose it, fearing the allegedly anticommercial Republicans planned to direct it permanently at *domestic* commerce as well as overseas trade.[21] This complaint was prompted by the series of measures the administration adopted to enforce the embargo, including restrictions on the coasting trade aimed at preventing smugglers from evading the unpopular law.[22] The Federalist *Salem Gazette*, for example, reminded its readers that George Washington had called for "an unrestrained intercourse"

between the North and the South. By placing restrictions on the coasting trade, Jefferson was acting despotically, for "Washington would have shed the last drop of his blood rather than have established such a system of tyranny."[23]

The Federalists interpreted these developments as evidence that tyrannical Republicans were scheming to destroy American merchants. Baltimore's *Federal Gazette* accused the Republicans of "engaging in a direct war against the commercial interest, and consequently against the farmers and mechanics." Noting that the mural depicting Commerce in the new national Capitol building had not yet been completed, the same newspaper punned that under the Republican administration "commerce may yet receive the finishing stroke."[24] Under "Madison and his junto," Boston's *Columbian Centinel* predicted, "commerce, like poor Desdemona, will be first smothered and then stabbed." The newspaper went so far as to predict in 1812 that the Republican plot against commerce could eventually lead to civil war, for "to expect the people of the Eastern States will renounce their commerce for the sake of the Union, when in fact they agreed to the Union for the sake of their commerce is irrational and absurd." Two years later, at the infamous Hartford convention, the actions of some secessionist Federalists would make this prophecy more credible.[25]

Federalists also gleefully accused Republicans of hypocrisy on the issue of manufacturing. Jefferson was usually the target of this charge. One critic compared the president's desire, stated in the *Notes on Virginia*, to "let our workshops remain in Europe" to his 1809 letter to the New York Tammany Society, in which he wrote that it was time "to turn seriously to that policy which plants the manufacturer and the husbandman side by side, and establishes at the door of every one, that exchange of mutual labors and comforts which we have hitherto sought in distant regions, and under perpetual risks of broils with them." The article failed to note, however, that in the Tammany letter Jefferson had clearly framed the embargo as a temporary measure designed to end depredations of American commerce, rather than as a sea change in political economy.[26] Furthermore, the focus on Jefferson was somewhat misleading, considering that other Republicans had been long-term supporters of manufacturing. Despite these qualifications, there remained a great deal of truth in such criticisms of the president. Other attacks were more fanciful. One wicked Federalist satirist wrote that a Jeffersonian manufacturing society had discovered a new item to be manufactured in America: shoes made of "biped skin leather" obtained by skinning slaves.[27] Here, the writer seemed to argue, was the central Jeffersonian hypocrisy: the contradiction between philosophical ideals and the reality of slaveholding.

In addition, the Federalists accused the Republicans of devising their political economy under French influence. The embargo was, they alleged, cooked up by physiocrats. The science of these "French philosophers," according to a writer in New York's *Evening Post*, "teaches us to consider agriculture as the paramount source of wealth of nations, and to view commerce and navigation as mere subaltern agencies." This misguided philosophy, the writer continued, had driven the French to "cut off the heads of their richest merchants, [take] their property, [destroy] several of their seaports, [burn] the opulent city of Lion [*sic*] and all their manufactures of luxuries, and [plant] potatoes in the elegant garden of the Tuilleries." Worse, the French had influenced Jefferson into laying an embargo that "will compel much sooner our merchants to turn to the plough, and their wives to the care of a dairy and the labor of the loom, than England to acknowledge the modern principles of neutrality, and France to respect them." Similarly, the *Columbian Centinel* tied the Republicans' attacks on the carrying trade to "the arrival of [French minister Edmund] Genet in the United States" and "the present baneful and degrading French influence." In Philadelphia, Federalists charged that both the *Aurora* and Tench Coxe were French agents.[28]

All this should not suggest that Federalists were entirely opposed to manufacturing or that they did not want to help mechanics. In fact, in Boston, where mechanic federalism was strongest, Federalists frequently stressed that they had always supported mechanics and manufacturing. Under Federalist rule, they reminded mechanics, "the rust no longer begrimed your axes, saws, sledges, and implements of that jocund industry which made your fire-sides happy; made all of you comfortable, and many of you INDEPENDENT." Under the Republican embargo, they added, that happy situation had been reversed.[29] The key, once again, was free trade. The wealth created by unrestrained commerce, they argued, would also aid agriculture and manufactures by helping the economy generally. As a Federalist Fourth of July toast noted, "invigorated by commerce [agriculture and "the mechanic arts"] flourish. Without its cheering influence, like the body bereft of the vital spark, they droop and die." The evidence for this assertion was all around, Federalists observed. The embargo was depressing wages and putting mechanics out of work. "The carpenters, masons, smiths, and since the embargo, the riggers, caulkers, sail makers, and rope makers, it can not be denied, have been in general ruined, or threatened with ruin by the war," concluded a writer in the *Columbian Centinel*. Shipbuilding and related trades had been particularly hard hit, the Federalists maintained. Many who practiced these trades were moving to Canada, and "should the Embargo continue only half the

time threatened, we shall not have a ship carpenter, a rigger, or a sailor left in [this] country." The conclusion was inescapable: Members of these trades must "remember that it is to commerce you look for your subsistence" and vote for federalism and free trade.[30]

It is important to note that when these Federalist writers argued that free trade benefited manufacturing, they most frequently referred to shipbuilding and the sizable body of mechanics whose livelihood depended on it. This emphasis on an industry in which most work was still done in traditional fashion by mechanics differed from the pro-embargo Republican concern with new forms of mechanized manufacturing that would rival England's factories. "The labor saving machines of this country are its ships," wrote one Federalist, explaining that "It is by them the price of a barrel of flour, which would not buy six yards of cloth here, will buy a dozen there."[31] The message was clear: Shipyards would prove far more valuable than new factories. Federalists, it would seem, were frequently (although not always) more comfortable with more traditional forms of manufacturing, whereas Republicans looked toward an economy based on new technologies and new forms of mechanization. Although manufacturing was still performed by traditional "mechanics" for Federalists, it was done by "manufacturers" for Republicans. Like Elisha Potter, Federalists frequently condemned new-style manufactories. A Boston writer predicted, "men will not shut themselves up in the prisons of a workshop from choice, [and] they will not court the pestilential air of manufactories for pleasure," while the *Evening Post* contended that "large manufactories such as are now attempting in the country, are injurious to the farmer, the merchant and the mechanic, and only advantageous to the large capitalist."[32]

Republicans and Domestic Production

Decades of promotional pro-manufacturing rhetoric lauding national independence and the harmony of interests finally made a major impact on national politics through the unlikely auspices of the Democratic-Republican Party. By the time of the embargo of 1808, the Republicans were without a doubt far more open to a new manufacturing economy than were the Federalists. Of course, not all Republicans were convinced that new factories were desirable. Even urban Republicans disagreed on this issue, although by and large the disagreement was over what sorts of manufacturing projects to support rather than whether to support them at all. Their newspapers frequently detailed how the embargo could

benefit American manufacturing, and for some, especially those in the mid-Atlantic region, the prospect of new factories became the primary reason for supporting the embargo. William Duane, editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora*, the nation's most influential Republican newspaper, has recently been portrayed as a particular friend to the small producer and an enemy of industrial capitalism.[33] However, despite occasional concerns about large-scale manufacturing, the *Aurora* usually supported new factory projects. One writer called for "large manufacturing establishments" in "large towns [where] there is capital unemployed and a surplusage of population requiring employment." Another lauded Pennsylvania's progress in textiles, iron goods, and machinery, noting that the new nation was now "as far advanced in the various branches of the most important manufacture as Britain herself was at the period of our revolution." Other articles praised new textile manufactories in Connecticut and Philadelphia.[34] In addition, the *Aurora* strongly supported Philadelphia's network of pro-manufacturing societies, which was dominated by the city's wealthier manufacturers.

In Baltimore the Republican *American* also frequently supported large scale projects, most notably the Union Manufacturing Company, founded in 1808 as the nation's first million-dollar factory project. Contributors to the newspaper and the project's directors (most of whom were Republicans) viewed the embargo as an opportunity to use southern cotton to turn Baltimore into a center of textile production, thereby ending American dependence on British manufactures. Throughout the War of 1812 the *American* continued to call for the development of large-scale projects, arguing that the new nation had the potential to imitate the vast manufactories of Great Britain. Perhaps the strongest Republican support for large-scale manufacturing came from *Niles' Weekly Register*, which was founded in Baltimore in 1811 by Hezekiah Niles. In the very first issue, Niles called for Americans to "make for themselves, those articles of necessity, convenience, even of luxury, which it once suited them to obtain from the workshops of the old world." It was a rare week when the *Register* did not print at least one piece lauding a new manufacturing project, the larger the better. When praising the progress of Baltimore's factories, Niles admiringly recited statistics to emphasize the magnitude of production: The city's 20,000 spindles would use "3,500 pounds of cotton *per day*," consuming "1,050,000 lb. of cotton" per annum creating cloth and yarn valued at "$1,620,000 *per annum*." In addition, a single manufactory just outside of town was able to cut "*twelve hundred* Nails in *one minute*" using state-of-the-art machinery.[35]

For these Republicans new factories were a national priority so vital that they

imagined America's enemies were attempting to burn them down. In its Independence Day 1808 issue under the heading "Hints for Independent Americans," the *Aurora* warned that foreign agents were burning American "labor saving machinery" and attempting in other ways to destroy American manufacturing. In the past, according to the *Aurora*, British incendiaries had twice burned the successor to Hamilton's SUM project in Paterson, New Jersey, and they had also been responsible for the fire that destroyed the Philadelphia factory of the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures in 1790.[36] The Baltimore *American* also took the threat of British incendiarism seriously. A piece reprinted in that paper noted that the frequency of fires in "those manufactories which cut most deeply into the interests of Great Britain" pointed to the possibility that "the fires which have thus consumed the nurseries of our infant manufactures have been lighted up by British gold."[37]

This possibility seemed to become bitter reality by 1809. First, fire destroyed John Harrison's Philadelphia Oil of Vitriol factory on May 13. According to the *Aurora*, this fire was the latest and most immediate piece of sabotage committed by "those incendiaries by which the diabolical spirit of British monopoly has conflagrated so many of our manufactories."[38] The next month, the *American* hinted that arsonists set off an enormous fire that destroyed Baltimore's Anderson-Gawthmy rope and textile manufactory. One year later the *American*'s editors rekindled these fears when they implied that English agents caused the explosion of a gunpowder factory in Albany.[39] Similarly, the Philadelphia *Evening Star* accused the British of slaughtering twenty-four Merino sheep in Boston, an act "connected with the incendiary system of destroying our workshops." The wool from these expensive sheep, many Americans hoped, would help to spur a domestic woolen industry, thereby ending dependence on British imports.[40] Once again foreign policy issues neatly converged with domestic concerns to link Republican distrust of England to support for American manufacturing.

Republican support for manufacturing was not unqualified, however. There were some who feared that very large firms would create "monopolies" that would drive smaller producers out of business. "If the natural tendency of manufactories be to enslave a great number of our fellow citizens for the purpose of enriching a few individuals," wrote "Richard" in the *Aurora*, "if so, perish manufactories for ever from America." But, he added, this ominous tendency need not be realized, for manufacturing did not necessarily have to be "carried on in large establishments, where great numbers of hands must be employed at low wages." Instead, different branches of textile manufacturing might each be per-

formed in smaller establishments. Indeed this system would prove more economical as well as more just: "In all such cases where the different branches of carding, spinning, weaving, dying, bleaching, etc. etc. are carried on by one individual or company, goods can never be produced either so good or so cheap as where the different branches are diffused among a number of individuals."[41]

Although Richard certainly was opposed to large vertically integrated firms such as those already found in Manchester or soon to be constructed in Lowell, he and others like him were not romantic conservatives reaching back to the artisan past. Richard supported the system of proprietary capitalism then developing in Philadelphia, where relatively small firms each focused on narrowly specialized branches of manufacturing.[42] In fact, his piece should be read as a paean to proprietary capitalism rather than as a general critique of the factory system. Similarly, the Baltimore *American*'s editors acknowledged that some (including the Federalist newspaper) had criticized the Union Manufactory as a potential monopoly, but they discounted this concern. "A manufactory with the contemplated capital of this, in the hands of one individual would be a complete monopoly," they acknowledged. "But a manufactory divided into 50,000 shares taken up all over the state is not to be cloaked with so disgusting an appellation."[43]

New York City Republicans ran the gamut from agrarians to proponents of smaller manufacturing projects to those who were more comfortable with larger factories. James Cheetham's *American Citizen*, which represented "Old School" Republicans who supported Governor George Clinton, looked with suspicion on large-scale projects.[44] At an 1808 meeting held in Cheetham's offices, the Old Schoolers endorsed Clinton for president and derided "all attempts to introduce manufacturing amongst us, by national excitement and trick," claiming that "manufacturing prosperity" would bring undue class divisions, creating "excessive wealth on the one hand, and pinching poverty on the other." However, smaller-scale manufacturing, that is "manufacturing gradually and individually introduced," would be a positive development and "should be cordially patronized by our citizens." No doubt Old Schoolers were influenced by Clinton's opposition to candidate Madison's nonimportation program. Clinton, according to a piece reprinted in the *Citizen*, supported domestic manufacturing only when the price of labor was low in the United States. Otherwise, Americans might as well buy manufactures from "other nations who are cursed by despotism with poverty and low wages."[45]

The tension between New York's Republicans over manufacturing was most apparent when the well-capitalized New York Phoenix Insurance Company pro-

posed to build a large rope and textile factory in 1809. Cheetham's paper raised the specter of monopoly, expressing sympathy for mechanics who feared "the company will be enabled to monopolize the raw materials of whatever business they may be allowed to follow, to reduce the price of mechanical labor, and consequently to affect prejudicially their happy condition." The proposal might still be acceptable, Cheetham added, if the state would limit the company to "new manufacture only," that is to those branches not currently practiced by the city's mechanics and manufacturers.[46] In response, the *Public Advertiser*, a Republican paper with a history of supporting manufacturing projects, printed two letters attacking the Phoenix Company's Old School critics and accusing them of being secret British agents possibly in league with the incendiaries who had been burning American factories. One writer went so far as to raise the specter of lynching when he wondered why Cheetham was "so skittish of ropes at this time?"[47] Five years earlier New York Republicans had engaged in a similar conflict when Republican mayor Edward Livingston had proposed a publicly supported "workshop," really a large factory project that would employ poor laborers. Livingston saw it as a clever poor relief proposal, but many artisans angrily reacted that his plan would be a government monopoly and a threat to their livelihood.[48]

In New England the rhetoric took a somewhat different tone. Boston's Republican *Independent Chronicle* heartily praised new factories, including Baltimore's Union Manufactory.[49] However, the region's merchant Federalists largely succeeded in setting the terms of the debate, forcing Republicans to respond to their call for "free trade" along two tracks. First, some Republicans stressed that they, not Federalists, were truly the "free trade" party, for in the long run only trade restrictions could force England to lift its onerous restraints. This position was accompanied by the slogan "free trade and sailor's rights" in the Republicans' 1814 campaign, implying that trade restrictions promised truer long-term freedom for American ships and their sailors.[50] Second, other Republicans attacked the overseas merchants head on, labeling them "shylocks" and "usurers," and accusing them of forming a junto to subvert Republican trade restrictions.[51] Though these two approaches, one pro-commercial and one quite suspicious of commerce, might seem incompatible, Boston's Republican press was able to pull them together by stressing the potential for economic independence offered by an active home market. The *Chronicle* took a position diametrically opposed to Federalists such as Elisha Potter, urging merchants "instead of risking their capital in foreign commerce," to create economic independence by investing in factories and letting "boys, instead of being sent to sea, be sent to these establishments."[52]

Republicans, Physicocracy, and Manufactures

Paradoxically, Republican emphasis on a productive domestic economy was shaped by the thinking of antimercantilist French physiocratic economists, as well as by native pro-manufacturing mercantilism. A "manufacturer" wrote in Philadelphia's *Aurora*, "All writers agree that it is the productive labor that constitutes the wealth of nations." The terms "productive labor" and "wealth of nations" quite clearly reveal the influence of Adam Smith, but the "manufacturer" was not writing of Smith alone when he referred to "all writers."[53] Most likely he also had in mind the writings of the physiocrats, who had influenced Smith and who were very concerned with the issue of productivity. Physiocrats are usually depicted as believers in the value of agriculture and opponents of manufacturing, which they viewed as essentially "sterile" or nonproductive. This depiction is too simplistic. Specific French policies disturbed the physiocrats, particularly those of the seventeenth-century mercantilist finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who, in their view, had overemphasized foreign trade and manufacturing to the point that they seriously damaged French agriculture. It was due to these policies, they argued, that French farming remained relatively backward into the eighteenth century. To correct the damage done by Colbert's mercantilist emphasis on foreign trade, they stressed the productive value of agriculture. They considered manufacturing, in and of itself, to be unproductive; it merely transformed goods from one state to another rather than creating new value, as did agriculture. However, they were also aware that some manufactures were closely linked to farming by their dependence on agricultural material and that, in actuality, farm families performed many manufacturing tasks at home in this still essentially preindustrial world.[54] Woolen textiles were a prime example of this sort of manufacturing. Even François Quesnay, the father of physiocracy, gave some indications that he favored the woolen industry.[55]

The most prominent American physiocrats were members of the du Pont family, who, ironically, are best known for their contributions to American manufacturing. A closer examination of how physiocrats came to be chemical manufacturers and even protectionists will also offer insight into the related paradox of Republican neomercantilism. The du Ponts did not stray so far from certain core physiocratic doctrines as it first appears. The patriarch of this family, Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, was physiocracy's foremost publicist and a close associate of Louis XVI's finance minister, Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, another disciple of physiocracy. Turgot served as godfather to du Pont's son, and chose

for him the names Eleuthère (liberty) and Irénée (peace).[56] E. I. du Pont's earliest experience with manufacturing came as a young bureaucrat in the French Agency for Powder and Saltpeter (Régie des Poudres et Salpêtres) where he worked under the great chemist, Antoine Lavoisier, who was a friend of du Pont de Nemours.[57] The French Revolution put an end to this employment, but by 1794 du Pont was drawn back to gunpowder when he was appointed a commissioner for the manufacture of saltpeter in Paris.[58] Ultimately, the turmoil of the Terror drove the du Ponts to America, where Pierre Samuel pursued for a short time a grandiose and highly impractical scheme to plant a utopian physiocratic agricultural community in Kentucky. Drawing on his earlier experiences, E. I. du Pont began the black powder manufactory along the Brandywine near Wilmington, Delaware, that would become one of the largest and most famed manufacturing firms in the new nation.[59]

It was wool rather than gunpowder that prompted the start of du Pont's career as an active promoter of American manufacturing. Du Pont was among the first Americans to bring high quality Merino sheep to the New World. In 1801 he imported four Merino lambs, including the buck Don Pedro. In 1808–11 "Merino mania" swept across the United States due to the embargo and nonintercourse acts, which raised the prices of British woolens and created a patriotic and economic imperative to develop American wool making capabilities. The price of Merino sheep soared, and du Pont, who by now possessed one of the largest and best known American flocks, was able to make huge profits until the speculative bubble burst in 1811. Du Pont also sought to profit from the favorable publicity for domestic woolens by opening a woolen factory, du Pont, Bauduy, and Co., in 1810.[60] Four years later, he began to correspond with Baltimore's pro-manufacturing Republican congressman, Alexander McKim, with whom he discussed the possibility of instituting more protection for woolen manufactories.

Du Pont made it clear in his correspondence with McKim that he viewed manufacturing as an endeavor that would finally make overseas commerce productive. For him the overseas carrying trade ("purchasing goods at a low price and selling the same to advantage in another country") was "very little more than gambling on a large scale." By contrast, selling domestic manufactures at home or abroad was "a true creation of wealth," involving, for example, "taking cotton which costs 20 cents per pound and making it worth several dollars."[61] In the vocabulary of the physiocrats, it was a productive endeavor. Du Pont also argued in a letter written at about the same time that by stimulating local markets, manufacturing would make Delaware's agriculture even more productive:

> The farmers have found a market and ready sale not only for their principal productions, but also for a number of articles, as wood, pork, mutton, veal, poultries, butter, potatoes, etc., which formerly they could not carry to the Philadelphia market, on account of the distance, and were obliged to sell at a low price in the then small Wilmington market. The new way of selling at home has enabled the farmers to encrease those kind of productions that were before of very little advantage to them, and which on a well managed farm will bring more to the pocket of the industrious farmer than even his best crop of wheat.[62]

Thus manufacturing offered the potential to free farmers from the tyranny of foreign markets and from their subordination to the larger Philadelphia market.

At about the same time, Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours expressed in his more theoretical manner similar arguments favoring manufacturing. These views are important in and of themselves, for they informed two pieces written for Thomas Jefferson in 1816 at the time when the Democratic-Republican Party was contemplating passing tariffs to protect American manufactures. These pieces, *Sur l'Agriculture et les Manufactures aux États-Unis* and *Observations Sommaires sur l'Utilité des Encouragement à Donner aux Manufactures Américaines*, serve as a bridge between physiocracy and American neomercantilism, arguing that manufacturing is valuable when it reinforces agriculture, and that the two are, to some extent, different sides of the same coin.[63] In the first sentence of *Sur l'Agriculture*, du Pont de Nemours contended that agriculture is essentially the most important manufacture.[64] The problem with a nearly exclusively agricultural country like the United States, he explained, was that it incurred great expenses and risks in shipping raw materials such as cotton, timber, dyes, and even tobacco overseas to be manufactured into finished goods. In this case, therefore, agriculture would become even more profitable if a sufficient number of factories were built so that these materials might be kept at home. This self-sufficiency would further benefit the American economy as workers in these factories consumed American produce and as entrepreneurs became richer and purchased still more raw materials.[65] In short, he deemed it a "fundamental law," especially crucial in the United States, that the principle justification for encouraging manufacturing is the boost that it gives to agriculture.[66]

Whereas the physiocrats' criticism of Colbert and other mercantilists stemmed largely from the alleged depredation of French agriculture, America's agricultural promise appeared so limitless to du Pont de Nemours that there could be no danger of depletion. With a vast acreage of uncultivated land and an

industrious people, the U.S. population "will not be able to exceed the means of subsistence [i.e., agricultural resources] nor be exposed, like England, to the misfortunes of famine," he wrote.[67] Manufacturing in smaller, more developed countries such as France and England could undermine agriculture and create the potential for impoverishment and hunger, but in a nation with boundless natural wealth, manufacturing would stimulate agricultural development rather than stymie it. Therefore, the traditional physiocratic warnings against manufacturing, formulated as they were within the context of the more limited French economy, might be relaxed.

Oddly enough, then, French physiocracy and American neomercantilism had converged. The du Ponts, heirs to physiocratic thought with its enmity to Colbertism, were in basic agreement with neomercantilists like Mathew Carey, whose most important political-economic tracts were signed "Colbert" and "Hamilton." Awareness of America's vast economic potential and natural resources had pushed them away from European political economy with its concern with scarcity and limited resources toward an emphasis on national self-sufficiency and harmony of interests that would (from a physiocratic view) create the most value for the nation's produce and (from a neomercantilist perspective) keep America's wealth at home.

The Perils of Partisanship

The first parties brought the issue of manufacturing to the center of the public sphere, but partisanship also created problems for the friends of American manufactures. Republicans may have been more supportive of new factories than Federalists, yet many Republicans, including (usually) Thomas Jefferson remained more comfortable with an agrarian vision than an industrial one. Although they were most interested in overseas commerce, many Federalists also were sincerely concerned about the interests of manufacturing, particularly more traditional nonfactory persuasions such as shipbuilding. David Humphreys, one of the more important manufacturing promoters of his day, remained a Federalist to the end, as did fellow Merino enthusiast George Washington Parks Custis. Partisanship, therefore, divided the friends of manufacturing.

The danger of partisanship was best appreciated by Mathew Carey, who began to withdraw from party politics altogether by 1809. Two years later he wrote that "no consideration will ever induce me to follow a party, however strongly I may be attached to it beyond what I deem right and just." Attempt-

ing to lay the groundwork for sectional and political harmony, he prefaced *The Olive Branch* (1814) with the passage in George Washington's farewell address in which the first president warns that "party spirit serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foments occasionally riot and insurrection; and opens the door to foreign influence and corruption."[68] Four years later, when addressing a group of mechanics and manufacturers, Carey elaborated on how partisanship also undermined the development of manufacturing: "Is there a merchant in the United States who would vote for an enemy to commerce? Why then are you so besotted as to give your votes to the enemies of manufactures? Is it because they are democrats? Is not this offering up as a sacrifice to a miserable spirit of party, your tender wives, your helpless children, and in fact your country, whose interests are identified with those of your productive industry?"[69] Party loyalty and fealty to the new economy could work at cross purposes, Carey realized.

Perhaps this uneasiness with partisanship explains why the friends of manufacturing—the mechanics and manufacturers as a group, as well as individuals such as Carey and Coxe—were so willing to move from one party to another when it suited them. Parties no doubt also served as an impediment to full cooperation between men like du Pont and Humphreys, who despite their identification with opposing parties, shared much in common in the area of political economy. Conversely, the rise of parties also gave some leverage to less powerful groups, such as urban mechanics, who had lost their influence in discussions of political economy held in Philadelphia manufacturing societies and Boston corporate meetings, for parties needed every vote they could get. The dawn of the "Era of Good Feelings" would temporarily do away with the frustrations of national party politics, and it would, perhaps not coincidentally, mark a new era of national support for both manufacturing and protective tariffs.

CHAPTER TEN

Harmony and Discord in the "Era of Good Feelings"

If it were necessary to choose a single date to mark the high tide of antebellum protectionism, July 30, 1827, would be a good candidate. On that day, a group of ninety-seven men from thirteen states convened in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to launch a five-day discussion on implementing a protective system.[1] The Harrisburg convention, more than any single event, helped pave the way for the so-called Tariff of Abominations of 1828, which sparked a "prelude to civil war," the nullification controversy of 1832.[2] It also marked a high point for union and harmony in the eyes of manufacturing promoters for whom it was the zenith of a half century of protectionism. During the Harrisburg convention they frequently, almost obsessively, voiced themes of unity and harmony. The "mutual good will and kind feeling" shared by the delegates resulted in "a better understanding of the resources and wants of our country and in whatever relates to the welfare and harmony of its parts," concluded Baltimore publisher Hezekiah Niles, the convention's leading promoter.[3]

The often strident emphasis on unity and harmony at Harrisburg only partly concealed the delegates' very real fear of disharmony and disunity. The convention, and the entire pro-manufacturing movement of the time, was fraught with tension between the promoters' vision of the national harmony of interests and their fear that that dream was eluding their grasp. Sectional disharmony was only one concern. They also shuddered over the prospect of increasing political disharmony as the Era of Good Feelings came to an end, over economic disharmony as the various sectors continued to clash, and even over class disharmony as the interests of the emerging working class diverged from those of the new industrial capitalists.

These issues were not entirely new. The Harrisburg convention was the culmination of a long effort to form a national protectionist movement, and many of the delegates had repeatedly met in similar, albeit smaller conventions during the previous decade and a half. Others participated in a broad informal national pro-

tectionist correspondence. This rising coalition of pro-manufacturing protectionists fought four battles between the end of the War of 1812 and passage of the 1828 tariff. Three of these—for the increasingly protectionist tariffs of 1816, 1824, and 1828—they won; and one—for the aborted tariff of 1820—they lost.[4] In all these battles they drew on the more than a half century of pro-manufacturing protectionism that preceded them, using similar rhetoric and similar organizational strategies. Harrisburg marked a climax more than a new beginning.

Why was this movement so successful in the years following the War of 1812? First, the rapid spread of factories after the embargo finally convinced many Americans that manufacturing offered substantial benefits. This transformation was hardly immediate, however. Even in New England, where some of the highest profile factories were located, it took years of lobbying and cajoling on the part of manufacturing promoters to win the field. Second, the collapse of the Federalist Party after the war greatly assisted the protectionists. Before 1815, Federalists, with their "free trade" political economy, had been the chief opponents of protection. As their party collapsed, giving way to the one-party Era of Good Feelings, free trade momentarily disappeared from political discourse in the North. Manufacturing proponents, already buoyed by the increase in factories, were able to capitalize on this political shift and slowly move formerly Federalist New Englanders into the protectionist camp.

The political journey of Daniel Webster offers a fine illustration of this change. As a Federalist "Black Dan" had eloquently spoken the language of free trade in an 1814 speech opposing nonimportation: "It is the true policy of Government to suffer the different pursuits of society to take their own course, and not to give excessive bounties or encouragement to one over another. This also, is the true spirit of the Constitution. It has not, in my opinion, conferred on the Government the power of changing the occupations of the people of different states and sections, and of forcing them into other employments."[5] Yet by 1816 he was merely "ambivalent" toward protection. Eight years later he supported aspects of the 1824 tariff despite resurrecting some of the tenets of free trade federalism. Four years later he voted in favor of the Tariff of Abominations, marking, according to his most recent biographer, "an important turning point in his evolution as an economic and political nationalist" and the start of his support for Clay's American system of protective tariffs, internal improvements, and a national bank.[6]

Webster's transformation was due more to the increasing importance of manufacturing and its supporters in New England than to any deep philosophical

shifts. The senator was besieged with letters from influential textile manufacturers urging him to protect their enterprises. Although some New England manufacturers, especially the famous Boston Associates, started out as merchant Federalists, they subsequently became uncomfortable in the straitjacket of Federalist free trade political economy. By 1816, only three years after launching the Boston Associates, their leader, Francis Cabot Lowell, was already urging Congress to institute a tariff, albeit a modest one, on East Indian textiles.[7] By the 1820s the Boston Associates, especially Abbot Lawrence, would become ardent protectionists. Lawrence, a Massachusetts merchant, had begun his career as an importer of British goods but had gradually moved toward domestic manufacturing in the 1820s, eventually founding the Massachusetts mill town that still bears his name.[8] He wrote to Webster in 1828 urging his support of the revised tariff, noting that "New England would reap a great harvest by having the bill adopted as it now is."[9] Webster also received letters supporting the tariff from Boston Associate and carpet manufacturer Patrick T. Jackson, another fellow Boston Associate Israel Thorndike, woolen manufacturer Samuel H. Babcock, and the omnipresent Joseph T. Buckingham of the Massachusetts Mechanic Association.[10] In addition, he consulted closely on the issue with Joseph E. Sprague, a protectionist from a prominent mill-owning family.[11] Thus, the spread of manufacturing throughout New England and the subsequent increased prominence of manufacturers in the region pushed Webster away from free trade and into the protectionists' camp.

The New England transformation would have been clear to anyone attending the Harrisburg convention. Nearly one-third of the delegates had traveled from east of the Hudson to the banks of the Susquehanna. Many of these New Englanders were associates of Webster, including Lawrence, Sprague, and Webster's younger brother, Ezekiel.[12] Although the cleavages between Federalist and Republican and between New England and Middle Atlantic had disappeared by 1827, new divisions were emerging. Most obvious was a new sectional split; none of the Harrisburg delegates had come from further south than Virginia. More subtly, Jackson men and Adams men were beginning to divide into the Democratic and Whig parties. The convention's organizers insisted that they were not partisan, yet nearly all the delegates would later become Whigs.[13] These claims of nonpartisanship may have been wishful thinking on the part of the organizers, for it was clear that while the old Federalist and New England opposition to protection had been overcome in the previous decade, the new opposition in the South and among the Jacksonians could easily thwart the progress the protec-

tionists had made during the Era of Good Feelings. In this regard the Harrisburg convention marked the end of the brief period of relatively nonpartisan protectionism.

The Fight for Protection, 1815–27

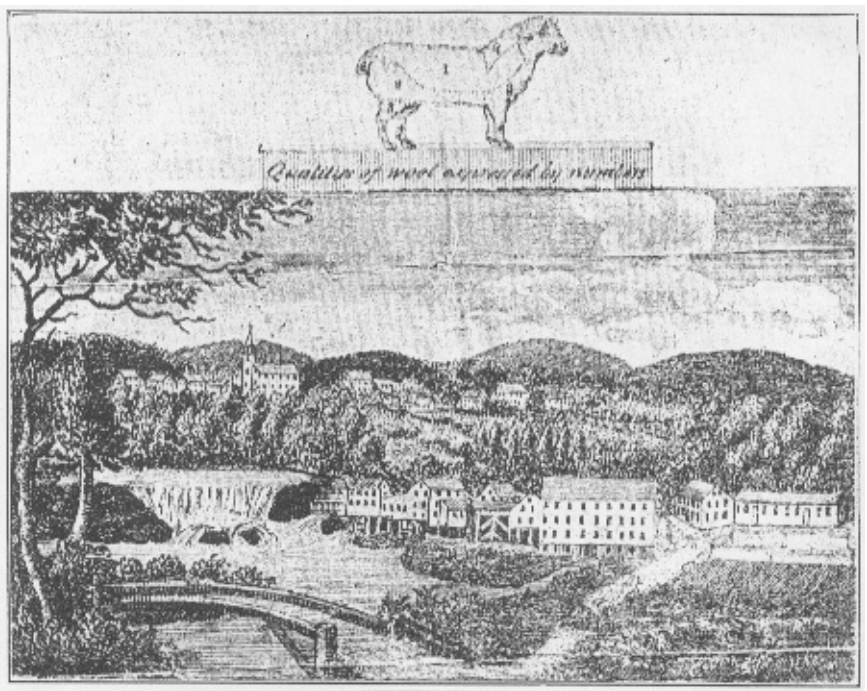
The battle for protection after the War of 1812 would have seemed quite familiar to an eighteenth-century Englishman. Mechanics and manufacturers in the old British system sought protection in times of economic distress, and antebellum American manufacturers claimed to be doing the same. In order to do so, they followed the time-honored procedure of forming ad hoc committees to write and sign petitions requesting assistance from heads of state. Like their predecessors, they believed that the role of government was to protect all of society's economic interests, particularly those threatened by severe setbacks. Of course, instead of looking for temporary relief, these petitioners were after a long-term tariff system. At the end of the war, manufacturers feared that their new factories, now exposed to renewed European competition as the seas reopened, would fail. Anticipating great economic distress they began to form committees to rally their allies and petition government officials for protection. By the autumn of 1815, Rhode Island's cotton manufacturers, including future Harrisburg delegate James Rhodes, were urging their "friends throughout the nation" to petition Congress for new textile duties. Soon societies to "promote industry" or "encourage manufactures" sprang up in most major cities and began sending petitions to Congress. Fairly typical were the woolen manufacturers of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware who, concerned by heavy postwar competition, somewhat desperately declared that their "sole object is such as will prevent their individual ruin, and maintain the manufacturing establishments of the country."[14]

By 1820 as the fallout from the panic of 1819 created real economic distress, regional protectionist leaders joined together under an umbrella group called the National Institution for Promotion of Industry. They held a convention in New York City at which they pledged to lobby for protection and to coordinate efforts with local protectionist societies throughout the nation. Several of the delegates to this convention, including Rhodes, Mathew Carey, Eleazer Lord of New York, and James Shepard of Massachusetts, would also gather in Harrisburg in 1827. This highly organized effort produced a flood of petitions to Congress from short-lived organizations such as the Pennsylvania and Delaware Paper Makers, the American Society for Encouragement of American Manu-

factures, and other ad hoc local citizens' groups.[15] Tariff proponents launched a similar effort in 1824 as older groups such as Carey's Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of American Manufactures and the Useful Arts were joined by ad hoc groups of citizens all complaining of great economic distress, or at least the potential for it. Tariff opponents also used the economic distress argument, claiming proactively that the proposed tariff would harm them. Nantucket whalers prayed for protection from foreign tallow, which allegedly led to "the depressed condition of one of the most interesting and important branches of national industry," while Boston tallow chandlers and soap boilers, dependent on imported raw materials, opposed the same duty, complaining that "the tallow chandling business has for a long time and does now labor under as great a state of depression as any mechanical branch that can be named."[16]

This activity reached its peak in 1827 when at least twenty-seven citizens' groups from South Carolina to Vermont met, drafted petitions for or against protection, and delivered them to the U.S. Congress. In addition, probably dozens of local groups met to choose delegates to the Harrisburg convention, usually arming them with protectionist resolutions purporting to reflect public opinion.[17] Thus, the Harrisburg convention followed the model of the constitutional conventions of the 1780s. Like those earlier meetings, the Harrisburg convention, and the state conventions preceding it, consisted of delegates chosen by their local constituents and given a mandate—to support the issue at hand. Of course the similarity to the constitutional conventions was far from exact; no delegates opposing protection were chosen, and in many cases there appears to have been precious little grassroots involvement. Nonetheless, it was this representational aspect of the convention that its leaders hoped would give it legitimacy. Publicity—public meetings and printed resolutions—was therefore central to the entire endeavor.

Outside of the public eye, many of the Harrisburg delegates had been corresponding among themselves and with other protectionists for years. This network seems to have originated with the "Merino mania" of 1808–11, which prompted a group of wealthy agriculturalists and woolen manufacturers to begin corresponding regarding the rare and valuable Merino sheep, whose fleece speculators bet would provide the basis for an American woolen industry. Both E. I. du Pont and David Humphreys played major roles in this network, and they corresponded with other enthusiasts such as George Washington Parks Custis and Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York.[18] Other Merino enthusiasts who served as delegates in Harrisburg included William S. Young of Delaware,



David Humphreys' bucolic factory label shows the connections between rural life and manufacturing. Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Jonathan Roberts of Pennsylvania, and William Jarvis and Elijah Paine of Vermont.[19]

Mathew Carey and E. I. du Pont served as important nodes of the protectionist correspondence network of 1815–30. Du Pont corresponded with Carey and *Register* publisher Hezekiah Niles, as well as protectionist politicians such as Alexander McKim, Henry Clay, and Senator Caesar A. Rodney of Delaware.[20] Carey claimed to have written twenty-one circular letters on the subject between 1819 and 1828 and to have kept a large letter book devoted exclusively to his correspondence with protectionists in 1819 and 1820.[21] His incoming correspondence includes over thirty letters written to him on the subject by a wide variety of correspondents from Boston to Washington during the last nine months of 1819 alone.[22] In addition, Carey traveled extensively up and down the coast in a largely unsuccessful effort to plant seeds for local protectionist societies. In these travels he met many protectionists, including Jonas Brown, a Boston woolen manufacturer who would serve as a delegate to the Harrisburg convention.[23] Be-

Merino wool is turned into rolls of textiles under the protecting benevolence of the American Eagle in the du Pont-Bauduy factory label. Courtesy of the Hagley Museum and Library.

tween these correspondence networks, committees and conventions, and printed protectionist publications such as *Niles' Register*, the friends of American manufacturing had become tightly linked by 1827.

The unusually rich vein of petitions drafted in 1827 offers a particularly clear glimpse into the minds of these manufacturing promoters. As in earlier years, they emphasized the harmony of interests and the desirability of a larger, more self-sufficient domestic market. Often they connected these concerns. For example, the "agriculturists and manufacturers" of Albany argued that a strong domestic market would create a "reciprocal benefit" for farmers and manufacturers, and, as a result, "national industry will be promoted, and independence and prosperity secured."[24] The domestic market created by protective tariffs would, therefore, not only relieve economic distress but also solidify national economic harmony.

Far less publicly, manufacturing promoters worried that on the eve of the 1828 election the tariff question might instead create *disharmony*, as the supporters of President John Quincy Adams and his rival, Andrew Jackson, began to divide into the nation's second party system. Certainly this concern was much on E. I. du Pont's mind when he wrote to John Torbert of Pennsylvania that pro-

tection "is purely the cause of America against the interests of Europe. Jacksonians and Adamists have but one and the same interest on those points." Days before the Pennsylvania meeting to choose delegates to Harrisburg, du Pont advised his friend, "The meetings which are now going the round in the country are perhaps the best means which could have been found to unite all and purify the cause, but the true friends of national prosperity must take the greatest care to banish from these meetings any political views of any kinds." In a less optimistic vein, du Pont worried in a letter to Hezekiah Niles, that even the delegates to the protectionist convention in his own state of Delaware "have arranged themselves of a new under the flag of Jackson and Adams, and they are as mad as ever." The trick to maintaining unity, Niles responded, was to pass resolutions "as naked as possible and as short as they can be."[25]

It must have been frustrating to du Pont and Niles that their opponents now began to use their own arguments against them. Harmony, these opponents agreed, was crucial, but protection would in fact lead to disharmony rather than national cooperation. For example, the citizens of Laurens, South Carolina, sounded very much like the manufacturing advocates when they insisted "that it is the duty of a government so to impose duties and so to distribute favors as to harmonize, as much as possible, the different pursuits and different interests of all sections." The problem for them was that instead of following this criterion, the proposed tariff was "calculated to engender sectional partialities," to "array the farming interest against the manufacturing interest," and "in a word, to array the south against the north and the north against the south."[26] Tariff opponents often took this point one step further, arguing that the alleged disharmony also violated the Constitution because it failed to guarantee "equal rights" or to promote the "general welfare" as mandated by the preamble. The New York Chamber of Commerce made this point unusually clearly:

> The national Constitution was formed to establish a Government for the common benefit and [to give] to every member of the confederacy equal rights and privileges. *To establish harmony and to promote the general good are emphatically its objects. Laws* which give to one class of citizens exclusive advantages at the expense of other classes; which lay heavy burdens on some districts where manufactures can not exist, to promote manufacturing in other districts and which . . . protect the *wool grower* and the *wool manufacturer* against foreign competition at the expense of the consumer, are not consistent with the spirit of that great national compact under which we have hitherto been a happy and united people.[27]

This notion of equal rights foreshadowed the position of the Jacksonians, whose leader would employ similar arguments against government incursion into the economy, particularly in his vetoes of federal funding for the Maysville Road and rechartering of the national bank.

In the way they linked laissez-faire to equal rights and equal protection, many of these tariff opponents echoed Federalist free trade arguments at the same time they anticipated Jacksonian liberalism. Government was not inherently the problem, Jackson would explain in his famous bank veto message: "There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as heaven does its rains, shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing." The problem was that the tariff, according to its opponents, granted welcome rain to only the privileged few, leaving the rest high and dry. Thus, its opponents concluded, resurrecting the old Federalist free trade arguments, government should stay away from promoting manufacturing altogether. A committee of citizens of Boston complained that the tariff would mistakenly force capital into new channels rather than letting it "naturally seek and necessarily find that employment which is ultimately the most profitable." Even more forcefully, the Agricultural Society of St. John's, Colleton, in South Carolina declared their belief that "capital should be allowed to seek the most profitable channels" and that "the interest of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, can best be promoted by the want of, rather than by, congressional interference."[28]

Southerners were now stronger proponents of free trade than were the New Englanders. True, the "citizens of Boston" continued to advocate laissez-faire, but even they noted that many other Bostonians now claimed that "the great body of intelligent citizens in this part of the country, notwithstanding the strong expression of adverse opinions a few years since, are now in favor of a further increase of duties." Although these Bostonians rejected such claims, many New Englanders besides Daniel Webster and the Boston Associates had changed course by 1827. This transformation is well supported not only by the strength of the New England delegation to Harrisburg and the number of pro-tariff petitions from east of the Hudson but also by the fact that at least four of the twenty-eight Boston merchants who drafted the 1824 antitariff petition were now actively supporting protection.[29]

For Southerners the prospect of being left alone by the federal government became more appealing as slavery came under increasingly bitter attack from the North. The concern over slavery, although rarely overt, certainly undergirded

some Southern interest in laissez-faire. Occasionally it bubbled to the surface, as in the petition of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce, which argued that a tariff on wool actually served as a tax on slavery, as slaves generally wore woolen clothing. Because the South depended on slave labor, and because slaves must wear woolens, such a tariff served to "impose a penalty, in the form of a duty, on southern improvements." Another group of South Carolinians who linked the woolen duties with the moderate antislavery of the American Colonization Society, flatly declared that "the domestic policy of the southern states is not a legitimate topic of discussion for Congress."[30]

Economic and Class Disharmony

Besides sectional and political disharmony, by 1827 advocates of protection also faced the heightened prospect of what can finally be described as class conflict. Prior to the 1820s there were tensions between the three great economic sectors of agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing, and even conflict between various groups within the manufacturing sector—masters, journeymen, merchant-manufacturers, and so forth. Only in this period, however, with the growth of a differentiated working class can this conflict be described as class-based with any precision. The earlier tensions between the sectors now coexisted with nascent class tensions, making the road for the apostles of harmony even more perilous.

Strangely enough, manufacturers did not dominate the Harrisburg convention as they had dominated the pro-manufacturing discourse of the 1790s and 1800s. In part, this was due to a conscious effort on the part of the convention planners to defuse sectoral tensions by including a wide variety of people in their circle, and in part it merely reflected heightened interest in the home market on the part of farmers and politicians. The Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and the Mechanic Arts, an organization in which Mathew Carey was the leading influence, had planted the seed for the Harrisburg convention in May 1827 when it called for "farmers, manufacturers, and the friends of both branches of industry" to hold state conventions to choose delegates to attend a national convention to be held in Harrisburg.[31] By addressing farmers as well as manufacturers the society followed the logic of the home market to its natural conclusion—that both parties were equally interested in protection. The local meetings endorsed this approach. The Dutchess County, New York, meeting, for example, consisted of "farmers, wool growers, manufacturers, and 'friends of the American System.' " Similarly, the Rutland, Ver-

mont, and Newport, Rhode Island, meetings were attended by "manufacturers and wool growers" and "farmers and manufacturers" respectively. Clearly a good number of these meetings were held in predominately rural areas, thereby making participation by farmers more likely.[32]

Furthermore, many of the delegates at Harrisburg were politicians who wanted to enlarge the home market but had little or no direct experience with manufacturing. For example, former U.S. senator Abner Lacock had been a farmer before entering politics as a War Hawk and a strong supporter of internal improvements. Later, he served as a Pennsylvania canal commissioner, and the first boat on the Delaware and Ohio Canal was named for him. Rollin Carolas Mallory of Vermont and James Tallmadge of New York were both lawyer-politicians who opposed slavery and supported protection, without apparent financial ties to manufacturing. Clearly, it was Republican home market and free labor rhetoric that had brought them to Harrisburg rather than any personal interest in manufacturing.[33]

As a wide range of powerful people joined the protectionist camp by 1827, manufacturers themselves grew less influential. Those manufacturers who retained influence tended to be large-scale industrial capitalists with very deep pockets. Abbott Lawrence was perhaps the most famous, but others included Edward Gray of Baltimore, Francis McLean of Connecticut, and David Wilkinson of Rhode Island.[34] Mathew Carey frequently observed that the protectionist network was dominated by very wealthy manufacturers. He estimated that four-fifths of the sixty-five to seventy members of the Pennsylvania Society were "deeply engage[d] in manufactures, and many of them wealthy capitalists." He also noted that many of his protectionist contacts had $50,000 to $150,000 invested in manufactures. Carey may have exaggerated the extent of their wealth to support his constant complaining that they were not contributing enough to the cause, but even discounting for exaggeration, it seems clear that he was quite impressed, and even intimidated, by their riches.[35]

If manufacturers were relatively less influential at Harrisburg, mechanics and laborers, once the leaders of American protectionism, were completely invisible. Their absence marked the end of the road for mechanic influence in promoting manufacturing. During the nonimportation movement of the Revolution and the tariff movement in the years just after, mechanics not only led the protectionist movement, they introduced the possibilities afforded by manufacturing to the very merchants and large-scale industrialists who most profited from industrialization. The decline of the mechanics, ironically, was prompted by the

events they had encouraged. The oft-told story of how the economic change wrought by new manufacturing technologies and new forms of organization dismembered the traditional craft structure certainly explains the mechanics' decline over the long run. In the shorter run, the story must also include internal political and ideological divisions, which increasingly led to discord rather than harmony among mechanics and laborers.

The dissension in the mechanic camp was far from new by 1827. Almost immediately after they succeeded in their push for the first national tariffs, masters and journeymen began to divide during the series of journeymen actions in the early 1790s.[36] At the same time, the rise of the early merchant-manufacturers and their manufacturing societies foreshadowed new tensions, as large, expensive factories first tentatively emerged from the old craft system. These divisions intensified in the early nineteenth century, which saw the development of a broad array of new manufacturing endeavors, ranging from traditional craft enterprises to modern-style factories. The simultaneity of these developments served to splinter workers. An orderly transition to a purely industrial economy might have rapidly created a unified working class, but the messy nature of American economic change produced instead various types of workers with little in common beyond the fact that they all labored. One of the few things linking them was a general sentiment that the government must protect them from foreign competition and encourage manufacturing in various ways, the discourse that has been the subject of this book.

By 1827 this connecting cord, now severely frayed, was ready to be replaced by new ties of class interest. After several decades of polymorphous manufacturing developments, the factory system and industrial capitalism were becoming significant in reality as well as in rhetoric. As the growth of manufacturing coalesced into industrialization, a recognizable working class finally emerged. The very summer that the Harrisburg delegates were attempting to sow harmony, Philadelphia laborers were putting into motion what would become the first modern union movement in America. That fall, journeymen from a wide cross section of the city's trades marched together as the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations, providing, their constitution said, "mutual protection from oppression."[37] They now sought protection from employers rather than from foreign imports, and they looked to each other (*mutual* protection) rather than to the government. By 1834 this journeymen's movement would evolve into the General Trades Union, which in 1835 led perhaps as many as 20,000 workers to fight for the ten-hour day in the new nation's first general strike.[38]

In other places, too, the late 1820s marked the start of working-class activity. In New York City it was a time of ferment as British radicals such as Frances Wright and Robert Dale Owen began to appeal to that city's workers, sparking an indigenous "Working Men's" movement, which emerged from a series of public meetings in 1829. This movement, like the one in Philadelphia, evolved into a general trades union by the early 1830s. In Boston, ten-hour day agitation reached back at least to the journeymen house carpenters' strike of 1825, and by the early 1830s the movement had spread throughout New England.[39] According to one recent estimate, more than 300,000 workers joined the unions of the early 1830s.[40] There has been a great deal of debate ever since over how "radical" this movement was, but from the perspective of the Harrisburg delegates, meeting at the very same time that these workers were feeling the first thrills of organizing, it must have represented a worrisome threat to their cherished harmony of interests.

Despite the impressive number of participants in the labor movement of the late 1820s and 1830s, workers were far from unified. In light of the intense partisanship of the second party system, perhaps the most obvious divisions were political. Ultimately, the Jacksonians would be fairly successful in co-opting the working men's movement into their party, but other workers would continue to support the Whig American system. To some extent these divisions were also economic ones, with more well-to-do workers often sympathizing with the Whiggish emphasis on tariffs and middle-class morality while poorer, frequently immigrant laborers were attracted to the more populist language of Jacksonian "loco-focos" and the party's more unbuttoned political culture. Other, more radical workers rejected both parties and sought to reorder society completely to distribute property more equitably. Radicals such as Thomas Skidmore in New York, William Heighton in Philadelphia, and Seth Luther in New England all rose to prominence during this period.[41]

The Harrisburg delegates may have been only dimly aware of the potential for these developments in 1827, but as workers became increasingly militant, the beauties of harmony interested them less and less. Their earlier cries for "protection" against foreign competition evolved into a desire for protection from rapacious capitalists and "equal rights" for all. They did not entirely abandon their earlier protectionism. Even the most radical, such as Thomas Skidmore, still believed in protection from foreign competition. In his 1829 magnum opus, Skidmore argued that "society is as much a compact to consume the productions of each other's industry in total exclusion of the foreigner as it is for the common

defense against the attacks of the common enemy."[42] For Skidmore and other radicals, however, the more pressing issue was now the basic inequality of wealth at the structural core of the emerging capitalist system.

This sort of structural critique, although rooted in producer rhetoric, was antithetical to the Harrisburg program. While the Harrisburg convention was predicated on the harmony of all interests, radicals like Skidmore and William Heighton worked from the conviction that until the existing inequalities of property were rectified, the interests of the laborers and the capitalists were inexorably opposed. The workers' increasingly strident calls for "equal rights" in the 1830s would distance them further from the Harrisburg representatives as the new emphasis on rights eclipsed the older mechanic tradition that viewed tariffs as protection against temporary cycles of poverty. In this old conception, government protected the interests of all by considering and balancing the pleas of each group. When Seth Luther stated, "We . . . have rights . . . which forbid us to dispose of more than Ten Hours for a days work," he was speaking not of government offering occasional privileges in a delicate balancing of competing interests, but of cold, hard absolutes.[43] If workers were to follow this logic, to refer to absolute rights rather than the traditional privileges of occasional governmental protection, then the Harrisburg delegates' dream of a harmonious economic machine perfectly tuned by government could quickly dissolve into a nightmare of irreconcilable opposition.

To the American System: La plus ça change . . .

Despite all of these developments—partisan fighting, sectional tension, economic change, class conflict—the rhetoric of the Harrisburg convention was nearly identical to that of the mechanic protectionists of the 1780s. The convention's address to the public, written by Niles with the assistance of an eight-man committee of delegates, stressed the need for economic nationalism and harmony between the geographic sections and economic segments. "It is evident to us," it stated, "that there is as much of a community of interests between the cotton and sugar planters of the south and the manufacturers of the east as there is between the growers of grain and the makers of iron *within* the state of Pennsylvania."[44] America's producers must reduce their dependence on foreign trade and work together within a national market:

> The agricultural commodities of the middle and western states, such as grain and its manufactures, have their chief market, for the surpluses raised, in the eastern states,

> and some of their mineral productions, partly manufactured, pass east and south. The south supplies all with cotton, sugar, tobacco, and rice, and receives manufactures in payment for these articles—and thus an internal commerce is carried on compared with which the foreign trade is of no great importance, except in cotton only, unless so far as it serves to regulate, as it is regulated by, the internal trade.[45]

This argument, which was really just recostuming the rhetoric of the previous half century for a larger stage, was the basis of the emerging Whig "American system" and the delegates would be the leading proponents of that system.[46]

The roots of this American system reached back into the old mercantilistic British system. The 1820 declaration of the National Institution for the Promotion of Industry had noted that agriculture and manufactures would afford "to commerce the materials for distribution throughout the empire."[47] That is, throughout the new *American* empire, which, like the old British empire would be based on systematic economic complementarity of its parts. As in the British empire, this system would be shaped and complementarity maintained by a strong central government, and the Harrisburg convention's emphasis on protection for manufactures clearly signaled that here, too, manufacturing would be the central component of the economic system. The delegates explicitly rejected Adam Smith's antimercantilist theories, arguing that "the principle of protecting the domestic industry has been adopted in most nations, and exists wherever a prosperous people are found."[48] Laissez-faire, therefore, was still impractical in a world that did not accept Smith's precepts.

The emerging American system, the heart of Whig ideology, was the culmination of the discourse colonial mechanics began during the unrest of the 1760s. Once again the old notions of protectionism, the home market, government involvement, and the harmony of interests would be at the center of American political-economic discourse. But now, rather than a harbinger of future economic change, they would become a bittersweet fantasy, an attempt to hold on to an increasingly distant past, when harmony and national self-sufficiency seemed attainable goals. By 1827 the divisions were becoming too great, in part due to the very economic change that the manufacturing promoters had wished for, and in part due to the widening sectional and party divisions of the age.

One final irony lay in wait for the Harrisburg delegates and their program. In the end it represented an odd sort of nationalism. Rather than renouncing sectional interests altogether, this American system celebrated them, at least insofar as they fit together to form a national economy. It was, therefore, a nation-

alism based on sectional interest rather than a love of the nation itself. Thus, when northern protectionists were unable to convince Southerners that this system could best suit their sectional interests, they had little rhetorical ammunition to prevent the Southerners from rejecting the program as a whole during the Nullification Crisis of 1832. This rejection should not have been a shock to the Northerners, however, for their fathers had been similarly unconvinced that their own interests would be served within the British system.

Epilogue: Beyond the American System

After 1832 protectionism drifted into a nearly thirty-year decline. The discord that the Harrisburg convention had tried so hard to modulate into harmonious cooperation prevented strong protective tariffs until the start of the Civil War. Despite the end of protection, American industry, particularly new-style textiles, flourished. The United States exported only $3 million in domestically produced manufactures in 1820, but by the dawn of the Civil War it exported nearly $36 million. In 1860 it produced more than $116 million in cotton goods alone, most of which was consumed domestically.[1] This impressive industrial development would no doubt have been very gratifying to the first generation of American manufacturing promoters, but they were long gone by the time of the Civil War. Mathew Carey, the longest lived, had died in 1839, characteristically still in the middle of the fight for protection.[2]

Such growth, however, might have troubled the first generation intellectually. Occurring as it did with very minimal tariff protection, it undercut their basic assumption that American manufactures relied on government support. Were the manufacturing promoters irrelevant if industry developed so quickly without protection? According to classical theory, protection can be useful only for so-called infant industries, which have not yet been established but for which positive economic preconditions exist. Given the right preconditions, protection may stimulate investors who might otherwise not have the initiative or incentive to enter into new enterprises. The protection provided by the embargo and War of 1812 combined with decades of positive pro-manufacturing publicity may, therefore, have played an important role in jump-starting large-scale American manufacturing. From the standpoint of classical economics, however, it is unlikely that protection in later years would have done much to expand American industry, and, as many economic historians have argued, tariffs could actually serve to redistribute resources away from other sectors into manufacturing, potentially harming the economy as a whole.[3]

Wrongheaded though they may have been by modern standards, a core of protectionists, many of them from Pennsylvania, continued to reject the classical criticism of protection throughout the antebellum years. This new cohort would eventually be led by one literally descended from the first generation: Henry Charles Carey, the son of Mathew.[4] Initially, it appeared as though, far from carrying on the battle waged by his father, Henry would actually become an apostate to Mathew Carey's economic creed. After a stint as manager of the family publishing business, young Carey studied political economy intensively. Under the influence of the new orthodoxy of classical economics he rejected protectionism altogether, which must have dismayed an elderly father who had devoted so much of his life thanklessly laboring to promote tariffs. Yet even in his early phase, elements of Henry's political economy reflected that of his father's generation. Most notably, he always stressed the notion of the harmony of interests, even using it as the title for one of his early books.[5] Like his father, he saw no necessary conflict between the interests of economic sectors or geographic regions. Early on, he took this notion one step further, arguing that "The interests of all nations are . . . in harmony with each other."[6] If there was no necessary economic conflict between nations, if they all fit together into a complementary whole, then protection was not needed. Carey's early career can in a sense be seen as an effort to reconcile his father's system with classical economics by discarding the old mercantilistic assumption that all commercial nations were naturally in competition with each other, locked in a brutal zero-sum contest. Unable to tolerate disharmony of any sort, he was even compelled to prove that competing economic theories need not clash if properly understood.

Eventually, even Henry Carey was forced to admit that not all discordant systems can be reconciled, and by the late 1840s he began to argue that in an imperfect world government must institute tariffs to protect the domestic economy. In a strained physiological analogy, he discarded the invisible hand in favor of a "political hand" that "does exactly that which . . . has been done by the physical one," that is, coordinating economic activity and protecting it from external threats.[7] The ultimate goal would be self-sufficient local economies based on exchange between farmers and small-scale manufacturers all protected from external threats (especially from England) by tariffs. Hopelessly outdated, not to mention disjointed, Carey's ideas nonetheless were immensely influential as he became the nation's best-known economist and most prominent protectionist.

During Carey's period of apostasy the Whig Party had begun to fall apart, riven by the very sectional discord that had blackened the horizon of the Har-

risburg convention. After the party collapsed in 1852, most Whigs found their way into the new Republican Party even though it remained uninterested in the tariff question through most of the decade. By 1857, however, elements within the Republican Party were again moving toward protection, so much so that the party's platform soon asserted that "While providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the industrial interests of the whole country."[8] In other words, tariffs should no longer be considered solely as revenue-producing measures but should also be used to protect various domestic manufactures from foreign competition. The Republican most responsible for this development was Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*. His economic guru was Henry Carey, who personally wrote many of the *Tribune*'s editorials up to the late 1850s.[9]

As a result of this upsurge in Republican protectionism and the secession of the Democratic southern states, the tariff was once again king from 1860 through much of the remainder of the century. The most recent study of postwar Republican ideology finds the party's political economy based on three pillars: the national market, the protective tariff, and the gold standard.[10] The first two can be directly linked to the pro-manufacturing discourse of the Careys, Tench Coxe, David Humphreys, and the rest. A harmonious, productive national market had been the goal of the mechanic committees, the merchant-manufacturers, and the agricultural societies, and, as this book has argued, they in turn were influenced by the efforts of the British empire to mold its constituent parts into a single, well-regulated market. Thus, dedication to a national market was hardly a Republican innovation. Neither, of course, was their use of the tariff. Although classical economists deride the effectiveness of the late-nineteenth-century Republican tariff, it nonetheless served an important function. Designed to protect agriculture as well as manufactures and to provide revenue for the Civil War pension welfare system, this tariff served to unite the varied American economic interests even if it actually did little to bolster the economy. Politically, it put the federal government at the center of the economy, allowing it to adjust the evermore intricate tariff schedules to benefit whichever groups appeared to be suffering the most distress (or whichever groups screamed the loudest, which often was the same thing). By acting this way, the Republicans built on the old understanding of government as dispenser of relief to ailing economic interests and overseer of a vast well-regulated economic system. For better or for worse, the neomercantilistic tradition continued to influence Americans through the Gilded Age, and, perhaps, beyond.

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Notes

Abbreviations

AHR	*American Historical Review*
APS	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia
DAB	Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Scribner's, 1928–36)
GM	*Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*
GSMT	General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York
GNDA	*Gazeteer and New Daily Advertiser* (London)
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
JAH	*Journal of American History*
JCC	Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904, reprinted 1968)
JER	*Journal of the Early Republic*
Letters	Paul H. Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976–)
MHS	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore
NASP	Thomas C. Cochran, ed., *The New American State Papers: Manufactures* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1972).
PMHB	*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*
PSPA	Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture
WMQ	*William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series

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5. For the consumer revolution see the essays in Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interest: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994); T. H. Breen, "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690–1776," *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986) 467–499; Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Inventories and the Analysis of Wealth and Consumption Patterns in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658–1777," *Historical Methods* 13 (1980) 81–104.

6. Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

7. The most recent review article is Richard Stott, "Artisans and Capitalist Development," *JER* 16 (1996) 257–271. A partial list of these studies includes Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981); Philip S. Foner, *Labor and the American Revolution* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976); Bruce Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800–1850* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980); Gary John Kornblith, "From Artisans to Businessmen: Master Mechanics in New England, 1789–1850" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1983); Staughton Lynd, "The Mechanics and New York Politics," *Labor History* 5 (1964) 225–246; Charles Olton, *Artisans for Independence: Philadelphia Mechanics and the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975); Howard B. Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: New York University Press, 1979); Howard B. Rock, Paul Gilje, and Robert Asher, eds., *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750–1850* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Ronald Schultz, *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Charles G. Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); Richard Walsh, *Charleston's Sons of Liberty: A Study of the Artisans, 1763–1789* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959); Wilentz, *Chants Democratic;* Alfred F. Young, "The Mechanics and the Jeffersonians: New York, 1783–1801," *Labor History* 5 (1964) 247–276.

8. Drew R. McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776–1900* (New York: Penguin Books, 1977); John E. Crowley, *This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974); Daniel T. Rodgers, "Republicanism: The Career of a Concept," *JAH* 79 (June 1992) 11–38.

9. John R. Nelson, *Liberty and Property: Political Economy and Policymaking in the New Nation, 1789–1812* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); Joyce Appleby, "The Social Origins of American Revolutionary Ideology," *JAH* 64 (March 1978) 935–958, and *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York: New York University Press, 1984).

10. My understanding of mercantilism and neomercantilism here is based on Lars Magnusson, *Mercantilism: The Shaping of an Economic Language* (New York: Routledge, 1994);

John E. Crowley, *The Privileges of Independence: Neomercantilism and the American Revolution* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Cathy D. Matson and Peter S. Onuf, *A Union of Interests: Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990); D. C. Coleman, ed., *Revisions in Mercantilism* (London: Methuen, 1969); Philip W. Buck, *The Politics of Mercantilism* (New York: Octagon Books, 1964); Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (New York: Modern Library, 1937), Book IV.

11. In addition to the citations in n. 10, see William Appleman Williams, *The Contours of American History* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1961), and "The Age of Mercantilism: An Interpretation of the American Political Economy, 1763 to 1828," *WMQ* 15 (1958) 419–437.

12. Walter Licht, *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995) 20.

13. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969) 189.

PART I: The Revolutionary Era

1. Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 1975) 95; Stephen Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England* (New York: Norton, 1995) 237–270.

2. Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929) 1: 19–27.

3. Margaret Newell, *From Dependency to Independence: Economic Revolution in Colonial New England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998) 215–222, 241–265; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) 277–294; Clark, 1: 207–214.

4. Rolla M. Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917) 61–122.

ONE: The British Economic System

1. *Four Dissertations on the Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union between Great-Britain and her American Colonies, Written for Mr. Sargent's Prize Medal* (Philadelphia, 1766) Evans no. 10406. On Sargent's contest see Thomas Harrison Montgomery, *A History of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1900) 365–372; Whitfield J. Bell Jr., *John Morgan: Continental Doctor* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1965) 165; Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959–) 10: 142–144.

2. Bell; *DAB* 5: 172–174.

3. John F. Roche, *Joseph Reed: A Moderate in the American Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957) vii. Reed's loyalties were questioned for some time by political opponents and historians who sought to discredit his patriotism. A descendent, William B. Reed, attempted to rehabilitate him in the 1840s, but this effort was violently attacked by the famous Whig historian George Bancroft. Subsequent evidence has tended to support Reed's interpretation. See William B. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Beakiston, 1847); George Bancroft, *Joseph Reed: A Historical Essay* (New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1867).

4. Watts's later career in Florida suggests this conclusion. See J. Barton Starr, *Tories, Dons, and Rebels: The American Revolution in British West Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1976) 39–40, 48–49, 153; Robin F. A. Fabel, *The Economy of British West Florida, 1763–1783* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988) 6, 15; James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: D. Appleton, 1889) 6: 396.

5. The list of subscribers was published in the front of the booklet. Using the *DAB* and J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1884) I have found sufficient biographical information on forty-five of them to determine whether they were patriots or loyalists. Of these, twenty-nine were patriots, fifteen were loyalists, and one was neutral.

6. On the advantages of consumerism see T. H. Breen, "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690–1776," *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986); Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interest: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994); John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) 48–70; Mark Egnal and Joseph A. Ernst, "An Economic Interpretation of the American Revolution," *WMQ* 29 (1972) 11; Gary M. Walton and James F. Shepherd, *The Economic Rise of Early America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 138–151; Bruce Ragsdale, *A Planters' Republic* (Madison: Madison House, 1996); Richard Koebner, *Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1961) 77–130.

7. Reed, 104. See also Watts's emphasis on "good policy," esp. p. 52, and his discussion of competition with Sweden, p. 59.

8. Note Postlethwayt's title: *Britain's True System.*

9. *Public Advertiser* (London) Feb. 1, 1764, p. 4. Emphasis added.

10. *New York Mercury* Jan. 23, 1764, p. 1.

11. Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, instituted at London, "Rules and Orders" (London, 1765) and "Premiums Offered" (1760); "A Concise account of the rise, progress and present state of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts . . . by a member of the Society" (London, 1763); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) 90.

12. Royal Dublin Society, "The Royal Charter of the Dublin Society . . . " (Dublin, 1766) and "The application of the Money Granted by Parliament in the Year 1765 to the Dublin Society . . . " (Dublin, 1766).

13. "Observations on the present state of the linen and hempen manufactures of Scotland . . . " (Edinburgh, 1766); " . . . Memorial in the name of the linen manufacturers, and others concerned in the linen-trade of Scotland" (Edinburgh, 1766).

14. On balance of trade mercantilism see Lars Magnusson, *Mercantilism: The Shaping of an Economic Language* (New York: Routledge, 1994)

15. Morgan, 11.

16. Reed, 94.

17. Watts, 57–64, 72.

18. Adam Anderson, *An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origins of Commerce* . . . (London, 1764). For a discussion of Anderson's significance see Joseph Dorfman's introduction to the 1967 reprint (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1967).

19. See esp. pp. iii, xv–xviii.

20. *Propositions for Improving the Manufactures, Agriculture and Commerce of Great Britain* (London, 1763).

21. Ignotus (pseud.), "Thoughts on Trade in General, our West Indian in particular, our Continental Colonies, Canada, Guadeloupe, and the preliminary articles of peace" (London, 1763).

22. "Copies of the several memorials presented to the Linen-Board by the merchants of Dublin, London, Liverpool, Chester . . . " (Dublin, 1763); "The following papers collected and seriously debated upon by a number of linen drapers in and near Lisburn and Belfast . . . " (Belfast, 1763); "A Letter to a member of Parliament Relating to the Woolen Manufactory . . . " (London, 1764); Sir J. Caldwell, "A Proposal for the Increase of Apiaries in Ireland . . . " (Dublin, 1764).

23. *Public Advertiser* March 16, 1764, p. 4; July 28, 1764, p. 4; Aug. 10, 1764, p. 4; Oct. 3, 1764, p. 1; Oct. 24, 1764, p. 1. One contrarian thought the French artisans "ought rather to be the objects of our emulation, than of our envy." Ibid., Nov. 7, 1764, p. 4.

24. Magnusson, 119–122.

25. Ibid., 157–158.

26. John Dickinson, "The Late Regulations Respecting the British Colonies" (Philadelphia, 1765) Evans no. 9950. E. A. Johnson, *Predecessors of Adam Smith* (1937; reprint, Augustus M. Kelley, 1960) 185–205. Watts, 48.

27. Morgan, 15.

28. Watts, 55. See also Reed, 92, for a similar argument.

29. Cited in Magnusson, 121.

30. Anderson, xv. Other American writers also stressed the importance of manufactures. See Dickinson, 4. See also Nicholas Ray, "The Importance of the Colonies and the Interest of Great Britain with regard to them considered" (New York, 1766) Evans no. 10471.

31. Joyce Appleby, "Ideology and Theory: The Tension between Political and Economic Liberalism in Seventeenth Century England," *AHR* 81 (1976) 501.

32. Morgan, 16; Watts, 69. Watts was in part responding to those who had proposed, unwisely in his view, to establish colonial manufacturing during the Stamp Act crisis.

33. Dickinson, 4–5. Similar points were made by Oxenbridge Thacher, "The Sentiments of a British American" (Boston, 1764) Evans no. 9851, 14–15, and in "Considerations upon the act of Parliament whereby a duty is laid of six pence sterling per gallon on molasses . . . " (Boston, 1764) 21–22.

34. "A Letter to a Member of Parliament Relating to the Woolen Manufactory . . . " (London, 1764) 1.

35. Watts, 56. Reed also assumed that wool was England's central product. See esp. pp. 15–16.

36. See Colley, 117–132, on this widespread fear of Scotland.

37. Anderson, iii; " . . . Memorial"; "Observations on the present state."

38. Massie (d. 1784) was a fairly prolific economic writer and collector of economic tracts. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press 1917) 13: 8–9; Nancy F. Koehn, *The Power of Commerce: Economy and Government in the First British Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994) 70–71.

39. *Public Advertiser* Jan. 21, 1764, p. 4; Feb. 1, 1764, p. 4. The piece was also printed in Massie, *Observations on the new Cyder Tax, so far as it may affect our Woolen Manufactories* (London, 1764).

40. "Copies of the Several Memorials presented to the Linen Board by the merchants of Dublin, London, Bristol, Liverpool, Chester . . . "; "Observations on the several matters offered to the Linen Board as material for a linen bill . . . by the linen weavers and manufacturers of the towns of Belfast, Lisburn, Hillsborough, and country adjacent" (Dublin, 1763); "The following papers collected and seriously debated upon by a number of linen drapers in and near Lisburn and Belfast. . . . " The pamphlet quoted was "The Review," published by "the deputies of the Linen Drapers sent up to attend the Linen Board last April." For an overview of the agitation for the Linen Act of 1764 see Conrad Gill, *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry* (1925; reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) 113–114.

41. Royal Dublin Society, "Application."

42. Massie in *Public Advertiser* Feb. 1, 1764, p. 4.

43. *The Volunteers Journal; or Irish Herald* March 1, 1784, p. 4.

44. "A Letter to a member of Parliament relating to the woolen manufactory . . . " (London, 1764).

45. *Public Advertiser* Jan. 6, 1764, p. 4.

46. Anderson, iii.

47. Watts, 55. For similar arguments see *Four Dissertations* nos. 1 and 3; Ray, 8; Dickinson, 3–6.

48. All are listed in Morgan, 13–15, and in many other places as well.

49. Anderson, xv.

50. Ibid., xv–xvii.

51. *Propositions*, 117 (emphasis added). See also Ignotus, 11–13.

52. Walter J. Shelton, *English Hunger and Industrial Disorders: A Study of Social Conflict During the First Decade of George III's Reign* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1973) 192–199.

53. *GM* 35 (1765) 44, 95, 243–244.

54. Ibid., 244–245; George Thomas, Earl of Albemarle, *Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham and his Contemporaries* (London, 1852) 199–200, 207; S. Maccoby, *English Radicalism, 1762–1785* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1955) 453–454.

55. *GM* 35 (1765) 44.

56. *Ibid.*, 567.

57. E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," in *Customs in Common* (New York: New Press, 1991) 185–258.

58. *GNDA* June 25, 1769, p. 4.

59. Ibid., May 10, 1768, p. 4; July 9, 1768, p. 4; Nov. 8, 1768, p. 2; Dec. 22, 1768, p. 1; Jan. 16, 1769, p. 3. Tin plate workers had similar concerns. See ibid., June 1, 1768, p. 4; Jan. 20, 1769, p. 2; Jan. 26, 1769, p. 2; March 6, 1769, p. 4.

60. *Reflections on the Present High Price of Provisions and the Complaints and Disturbances Arising Therefrom* (London: G. Kearsley, 1766); *Considerations on the Effects which the Bounties Granted on Exported Corn, Malt and Flour Have on the Manufactures of the Kingdom and the True Interests of the State* (London: T. Cadell, 1768); "The Man in Trade" in *GNDA* June 21, 1768, p. 4.

61. On the abortive rise of free trade ideas in the seventeenth century see Appleby, 499–515.

62. *The Causes of the Dearness of Provisions Assigned; with Effectual Methods for Reducing the Prices of them* (Gloucester: R. Raikes, 1766) quotes from pp. 3–5. See also *An Enquiry into the Present High Prices of Provisions in Two Parts* (London: J. Fletcher and Co., 1767)

and *The Occasion of the Dearness of Provisions and the distress of the Poor . . . By a Manufacturer* (London, 1767).

63. *No Liberty! No Life! Proper Wages and Down with Oppression* (London: W. Harris, 1768); G. Whatley, *Reflections on the Principles of Trade in General* (London, 1769).

64. *GNDA* Oct. 5, 1768, p. 4; Oct. 18, 1768, p. 4; Oct. 24, 1768, p. 4.

65. *Occasion of the Dearness of Provisions*, 7–8.

66. "The Hatmakers Case. Shewing, that the present exporting of beaver hats of the manufacture of the colonies in America hath been, and is, a very great discouragement to the English hatmakers" (1764). See also, "The case of the manufacturers and others concerned with the making of beaver hats . . . " (1764). The hat makers complained about the shipment of American hats to foreign markets as well as to Britain. On the Hat Act see Oliver M. Dickerson, *The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1951) 18–20; Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929) 1: 23.

67. *Propositions*, 17–18. These fears became much more pronounced after the initial American threats of nonimportation against the Sugar Act of 1764. See for example *Public Advertiser* Nov. 28, 1764, p. 4, and *Boston Gazette* April 29, 1763, p. 3, which reprinted similar fears expressed in the London papers.

68. *Public Advertiser* Oct. 17, 1764, p. 4; Nov. 28, 1764, p. 4. In 1773, Virginian Robert Bolling devised a similar proposal, although he also hoped wine-bottling would help develop glass manufacturing in the colonies. See Ragsdale, 141

69. Ignotus, 13.

70. "Considerations on the present peace as far as it is relative to the colonies, and the African trade" (London, 1763). For another English exponent of this argument see the letter by "A Well-Wisher to our Colonies," *Public Advertiser* Oct. 9, 1764, p. 1.

71. "Considerations upon the Act of Parliament whereby a duty is laid six pence sterling per gallon on molasses . . . " (Boston, 1764) Evans no. 9625. See also Thacher, 14–15; "Reasons against the Renewal of the Sugar Act, as it will be prejudicial to the Trade, not only of the Northern Colonies, but to that of Great Britain also" (Boston, 1764) Evans no. 9812.

72. Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931) 122–125.

73. Koehn, 105–147.

74. Quoted in George Louis Beer, *The Commercial Policy of England Toward the American Colonies* (New York: Peter Smith, 1948) 146–147.

75. Quoted in Dickerson, 116. Original emphasis.

76. Undated printed letter "From the Merchants and Traders of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, to the Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain" signed by 205 Philadelphia merchants in Manuscripts Relating to Nonimportation Agreements, APS, 6–10.

TWO: Manufacturing and Revolution

1. APS minutes of Dec. 20, 1768, reprinted in "Early Proceedings of the APS," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 22 (1885).

2. Brooke Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966) 199–203; *Pennsylvania Gazette* Oct. 3, 1771, p. 1; April 30, 1772, p. 2. APS minutes, Jan. 19–March 2, 1770.

3. Hindle, 200; Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959–)18: 96–97; *Pennsylvania Gazette* Oct. 3, 1771, p. 1.

4. *Pennsylvania Gazette* July 29, 1772, p. 1; *Franklin Papers* 19: 135.

5. Lewis J. Carey, *Franklin's Economic Views* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., 1928) 140–143 and passim; Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980) 63–66.

6. *Franklin Papers* 11: 182.

7. Ibid., 15: 52–53; 16: 208–210; 19: 43, 282–283.

8. Ibid., 20: 42–43, 107–108.

9. *New York Mercury* Dec. 3, 1764, p. 1; Dec. 10, 1764, p. 1. On the effects of the Sugar Act see Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953, reprinted 1962) 39–41; Merrill Jensen, *The Founding of a Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968) 147–151; Oliver M. Dickerson, *The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951) 172. On the New York Society see Cathy Matson, " 'Free Trade, Fair Trade': Economic Ideas and Opportunities in Eighteenth-Century New York City" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1985) 414–416; William R. Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (1893; reprint, New York: A. M. Kelley, 1971) 52–54; Benjamin A. Guterman, "The 'Ancient' Freemen of New York City: Artisans and the Development of Urban Society, 1664–1776" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1994) 346–349.

10. *New York Mercury* Jan. 28, 1765, p. 3. My suspicion it was placed by the society is based on its extremely laudatory tone, proximity to other materials clearly placed by the society in the same newspaper, and that it was unsigned (i.e. devoid of the usual pseudonym or initials used by correspondents).

11. Ibid., Dec. 3, 1764, p. 2. On British bounties for colonial hemp see Dickerson, 26 n. 27.

12. Bagnall, 52–53; *New York Mercury* Jan. 20, 1766, p. 3.

13. *New York Mercury* Dec. 9, 1765, p. 2. The paper hanging manufacturer was John Rugar and the tool maker was Robert Boyd, who would later be active in the revolutionary mechanics committee.

14. The Iron Act of 1750 was intended to prevent Americans from "manufacturing iron into tools, implements, and hardware," according to Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures of the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929) 1: 24. See also Arthur C. Bining, *British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1933); Dickerson, 47–48.

15. *New York Mercury* Dec. 17, 1764, p. 2; Jan. 28, 1765, p. 3. On potash see Clark, 1: 37; William I. Roberts III, "American Potash Manufacturing Before the American Revolution," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 116 (Oct. 1972) 383–395; Carl Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman* (1950; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1990) 104–105.

16. *Boston Gazette* June 3, 1765, p. 2.

17. "Whereas the Number of poor in and around this City . . . " (Philadelphia, 1764) Evans no. 9870; "A Number of the Inhabitants of this City . . . " (Philadelphia, 1765) Evans no. 10134. For the list of subscribers see Jennifer A. Moon, "The Best Poor Man's Industry: Politics and the Political Economy of Poor Relief in Revolutionary Philadelphia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1995) 56; *Franklin Papers* 11: 314–316. The mechanics were Franklin, brewer Reuben Haines, and glass- and button maker Richard Wistar.

18. "A Number of Inhabitants"; Moon, 56–57; Bagnall, 37–38, 51; Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979) 332; *Franklin Papers* 11: 314–316; *Boston Gazette* Jan. 21, 1765, p. 3. I gather Brown's manufactory was not producing by December 1767 when the town voted in favor of "reviving the linen manufacture."

19. *Pennsylvania Gazette* June 27, 1765, p. 2; *New York Mercury* June 10, 1765, p. 1.

20. See for example *Boston Gazette* April 29, 1765, p. 3; Feb. 11, 1765, p. 3; Feb. 25, 1765, p. 1.

21. *New York Mercury* Nov. 11, 1765, p. 2; *Pennsylvania Gazette* Nov. 14, 1765, p. 3; *Boston Gazette* Dec. 6, 1765, p. 3.

22. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 27, 1765, p. 2.

23. Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," *WMQ* 24 (1967) 81–85; John E. Crowley, *This Sheba, Self* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974) 128–130; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, " 'Daughters of Liberty': Religious Women in Revolutionary New England," in Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Women in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989) 214–217. Ulrich argues that women's spinning meetings also were a manifestation of female religiosity.

24. *Boston Gazette* Oct. 1, 1764, p. 2, p. 3; Sept. 24, 1764, p. 3; Aug. 13, 1764, p. 3.

25. *Pennsylvania Gazette* March 7, 1765, p. 2; March 14, 1765, p. 3; April 11, 1765, p. 3; May 16, 1765, p. 3. On mechanic participation see Charles S. Olton, *Artisans for Independence: Philadelphia Mechanics and the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975) 34–35.

26. *New York Mercury* Oct. 21, 1765, p. 3; Oct. 28, 1765, p. 2; Dec. 9, 1765, p. 2. Philadelphians soon began a similar market according to Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution* (New York: Columbia University, 1918) 77.

27. *New York Mercury* Feb. 20, 1764, p. 4; June 4, 1764, p. 3; *Pennsylvania Gazette* March 20, 1766, p. 3.

28. *New York Mercury* Dec. 7, 1764, p. 2; June 10, 1765, p. 1; Aug. 5, 1769, p. 4; March 3, 1766, p. 3.

29. *Pennsylvania Gazette* May 1, 1766, p. 3; Feb. 28, 1765, p. 1; May 2, 1766, p. 2. Bagnall, 54–55. All emphasis original.

30. Virginia D. Harrington, *The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution* (1935; reprint, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964) 331.

31. *Pennsylvania Gazette* May 2, 1766, p. 2; *New York Mercury* April 10, 1766, p. 3; *Boston Gazette* May 19, 1766, p. 3; Olton, 27.

32. Bagnall, 28–37; Stephen Edward Wiberly Jr., "Four Cities: Public Poor Relief in Urban America, 1700–1775" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1975) 88–102.

33. Barrett et al. to the committee appointed for the Duck manufacture, May 28, 1768, Ezekial Price Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society (microfilm). In the same sentence they also touted the project as a means of poor relief, reflecting the complex motivations for supporting such projects. On their radical credentials see *Boston Gazette* Nov. 2, 1767, p. 1; Nash, 333.

34. Bagnall, 37–41; Wiberly, 104–106; Nash, 332–333; *Boston Gazette* March 21, 1768; Barrett et al.; item 73a, March 1768, Price Papers. The committee rejected John Brown's proposal to carry on a large linen manufactory because, they said, he could not offer sufficient security.

35. *Massachusetts Gazette* Jan. 21, 1768, p. 2.

36. Roughly two-thirds of the project's directors were merchants. See Moon, appendix A, 324.

37. Moon, 69–152; Nash, 227–231. The society's reports were generally published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in May.

38. *Boston Gazette* Nov. 2, 1767, p. 1. Jensen, 243–250, 268–270, stresses the failure to inaugurate complete nonimportation rather than the emphasis on these radical economic ideas.

39. Undated letter, probably written in 1768, from merchants and traders of Philadelphia to the manufacturers of Great Britain, Manuscripts Relating to Nonimportation Agreements, APS. This letter was written in an effort to avoid all out nonimportation, which would begin in the spring of 1769.

40. *Pennsylvania Gazette* Jan. 25, 1770, p. 3; May 24, 1770, p. 2; Richard Alan Ryerson, *The Revolution Has Now Begun* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978) 29–33; *Franklin Papers* 18: 118; Olton, 43–44.

41. *New York Journal* Sept. 8, 1768, p. 2; Sept. 15, 1768, p. 3.

42. In 1770 British America received 47.9 percent of all English exports of glass and earthenware, according to John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) 284.

43. The address to the General Assembly dated Jan. 30, 1771, is reprinted in Graham Hood, *Bonnin and Morris of Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972) 53–54. The letter may be found in Hood, 56–60, and *Pennsylvania Gazette* Aug. 1, 1771, p. 3. Hood claims "the style of this long letter bears a singular resemblance to Bonnin's" (p. 73).

44. Michael K. Brown, "Piecing Together the Past: Recent Research on the American China Manufactory, 1769–1772," *Proceedings of the APS* 133 (1989) 555–579, esp. 563–565; *Franklin Papers* 19: 45; Hood, 47–49, 51.

45. Frederick William Hunter, *Stiegel Glass* (New York: Dover Publications, 1950) 3–68; *Pennsylvania Gazette* June 20, 1771, p. 3; June 27, 1771, p. 3.

46. For Keating see ads in *New York Journal* Jan. 9, 1772, p. 3; May 21, 1772, p. 3. On Ustick's activities see ibid., April 13, 1775, p. 3.

47. This argument was used by writers who alleged the merchants had discouraged a glass manufacturer near Boston on these grounds in *Boston Gazette* Feb. 20, 1769, pp. 1 and 2.

48. Stiegel went bankrupt shortly thereafter, and Bonnin and Morris attempted, unsuccessfully, to auction off their factory.

49. *Boston Gazette* Jan. 4, 1768, p. 3; July 25, 1768, p. 1; Nov. 28, 1768, p. 3; Sept. 4, 1769, p. 3; Sept. 10, 1770, p. 2.

50. Quoted in *Boston Gazette* Nov. 27, 1769, p. 2. See also June 12, 1769, p. 3; Oct. 16, 1769, p. 1; Dec. 25, 1769, p. 3; May 21, 1770, p. 3, for reports of spinning.

51. *New York Journal* March 23, 1769, p. 3; April 13, 1769, p. 3. *Pennsylvania Gazette* April 21, 1770, p. 3.

52. "A Pennsylvanian" in *Pennsylvania Gazette* Aug. 23, 1770, pp. 2–3. Opinion was divided on this issue. For example, "A Citizen" argued that America was still not ready for manufacturing in ibid., Oct. 11, 1770, p. 2.

53. "Philo-Americanus," *New York Journal* Aug. 16, 1770, p. 2.

THREE: Lurching toward Economic Independence

1. Pauline Maier, *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence* (New York: Knopf, 1997) 47–96.

2. Jack N. Rakove, *The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress* (New York: Knopf, 1979) 49–52; David Ammerman, *In the Common Cause: American Response to the Coercive Acts of 1774* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974) 67–68, 83–85, 114–116; *JCC* 1: 75–80.

3. *Boston Gazette* Dec. 19, 1774, p. 1.

4. *Pennsylvania Gazette* Feb. 1, 1775. The recommended manufactures were woolens, madder (used to dye textiles), wood, flax, hemp, salt, saltpeter, gunpowder, nails, wire, steel, paper, glass, wool combs, copper, tin plates, printing types, fulling mills, hemp and flax mills, grindstones, and barley. They also called on Pennsylvanians to conserve sheep for wool.

5. *JCC* 4: 222–225. *Pennsylvania Gazette* March 27, 1776, p. 2.

6. On the founders' and subscribers' political views and occupations see Jennifer A. Moon, "The Best Poor Man's Industry: Politics and the Political Economy of Poor Relief in Revolutionary Philadelphia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1995) tables 4.2 and 4.4 and appendix E; Richard Alan Ryerson, *The Revolution Has Now Begun* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978) 112–115. On the role of government see Moon, 185.

7. William R. Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (1893; reprint, New York: A. M. Kelley, 1971) 63–72; *Pennsylvania Gazette* Feb. 22, 1775, sup. p. 1; May 24, 1775, p. 3; Aug. 9, 1775, p. 3.

8. Moon, 163–170; Michael Brewster Folsom and Steven D. Lubar, eds., *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982) 3–9. See also the speech made by Robert Strettel Jones, who was both an American Manufactory manager and a Silk Society director, lauding the manufactory for laying the foundation for "the real independence of our country" in Moon, 199, and *American Museum* March 1789, 265–267.

9. *New York Journal* Nov. 16, 1775, p. 3; Nov. 25, 1775; Stephen Edward Wiberly Jr., "Four Cities: Public Poor Relief in Urban America, 1700–1775" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1975) 13. The American evacuation of New York put an end to this project before production began.

10. *Boston Gazette* Sept. 26, 1774, p. 1; Dec. 12, 1774, p. 2; Jan. 13, 1775, p. 3. This project was marred by scandal when members of the committee were accused of using public money to pay some of the employees to work in their personal businesses.

11. On the increasing political prominence of mechanics in New York and Pennsylvania see Staughton Lynd, "The Mechanics in New York Politics: 1744–1788," *Labor History* 5 (1964) 225–246; Benjamin A. Guterman, "The 'Ancient' Freemen of New York City: Artisans and the Development of Urban Society, 1664–1776" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1994) 379–395; Ryerson, 66–77 and passim.

12. According to Ryerson, "No strong demand for nonimportation was apparent in Philadelphia outside the artisan class at this time" (p. 56).

13. *New York Journal* Dec. 24, 1774, p. 1; Lynd, 227.

14. *JCC* 3: 484.

15. *JCC* 2: 200–201, 397; Rakove, 136–139; Page Smith, *John Adams* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962) 1: 212–215.

16. *JCC* 3: 481; R. R. Livinsgton Jr.'s notes for a speech in Congress, Oct. 27, 1775, in *Letters* 2: 267–270.

17. *Letters* 3: 25.

18. Curtis P. Nettels, *The Emergence of a National Economy, 1775–1815* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962) 2–4; Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation* (New York: Knopf, 1950) 619–620; Cathy Matson and Peter Onuf, *A Union of Interests* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990) 34.

19. Jensen, 618–619.

20. *JCC* 3: 498, 501.

21. *Letters* 3: 420–421; *JCC* 4: 223.

22. *JCC* 3: 322; 4: 169; 13: 304; Michael A. Bellesiles, *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture* (New York: Knopf, 2000) 183–207.

23. *Letters* 3: 455; *JCC* 3: 347; 4: 170; 5: 85, 713–714.

24. *Letters* 3: 10, 15, 20, 254, 486–487.

25. *JCC* 4: 185–186; 5: 566; *Letters* 4: 404.

26. *JCC* 4: 1072–1073; 7: 965–966.

27. *JCC* 7: 248; 10: 412.

28. *JCC* 4: 95–96, 108.

29. Matson and Onuf, 37–42; J. Leander Bishop, *History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860* (Philadelphia: E. Young, 1868) 1: 615–616, 619–620; Bellesiles, 190–192; Margaret Newell, *From Dependency to Indepence: Economic Revolution in Colonial New England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998) 302–303; *Pennsylvania Gazette* Nov. 17, 1776, p. 3; May 8, 1776, p. 4.

30. *JCC* 1: 79

31. Newell, 314–315; Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization, 1606–1933* (New York: Viking, 1946) 1:213–216; Richard Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965) 98–100.

32. Morris, 92–135; Jackson Turner Main, *The Sovereign States* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1973) 233–238; *Pennsylvania Ledger* Jan. 14, 1778, p. 2; *Boston Gazette* April 28, 1777, p. 1; Aug. 2, 1779, p. 4.

33. *Boston Gazette* Jan. 16, 1775, p. 3; June 2, 1778, p. 1; June 21, 1779, pp. 2–3; Aug. 2, 1779, p. 4; Aug. 30, 1779, p. 3.

34. *Boston Gazette* Sept. 27, 1779, p. 2; Oct. 4, 1779, p. 3; Morris, 124; Gary J. Kornblith, "From Artisans to Businessmen: Master Mechanics in New England, 1789–1850" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1983) 62. On Belcher's later career see chapter 4 of this volume.

35. Ronald Schultz, *The Republic of Labor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) 54–60; John K. Alexander, "The Fort Wilson Incident of 1779: A Case Study of the Revolutionary Crowd," *WMQ* 31 (Oct., 1974) 589–612.

36. *Letters* 3:10, 15, 19, 20, 62, 82–83, 225, 253, 254, 455; *Pennsylvania Gazette* Jan. 25, 1775, p. 1; July 5, 1775, p. 3; Jan. 3, 1776, p. 2; Jan. 17, 1776, p. 3.

37. *Letters* 3: 607–608.

38. Ibid., 5:57–58, 195, 205, 433–434, 588–589; Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929) 1: 219–220.

39. For newspaper advertisements see *New York Journal* Sept. 22, 1774; Oct. 26, 1775, p. 4; Dec. 28, 1775, p. 3; *Boston Gazette* Jan. 30, 1775, p. 3 (cake ink); July 27, 1778, p. 3 (buttons); Aug. 2, 1779, p. 4 (snuff); Sept. 25, 1780, p. 3 (paper); July 16, 1781, p. 3 (Salisbury Furnace); Oct. 29, 1781, p. 3 (glass); June 17, 1782, p. 3 (sugar).

40. *Letters* 6: 506. For newspaper ads see *Pennsylvania Gazette* July 5, 1775 (saltpeter); May 8, 1776, p. 4 (gun locks); Aug. 17, 1776, p. 3 (fringe and lace); Aug. 14, 1776, p. 3 (woolens); Aug. 21, 1776, p. 1 (textiles); Aug. 21, 1776, p. 1 (mustard and chocolate); Aug. 28, 1776, p. 3 (linen).

41. *Letters* 5: 658.

42. "Census of Deptford Hundred or Fells Point, 1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 25 (1930) 271–275; 1785 House of Delegates assessment record for Deptford Hundred, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Md.; Tina H. Sheller, "Artisans and the Evolution of Baltimore Town, 1765–1790" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1990) 138–169; Robert A. East, *Business Enterprise in the Revolutionary Era* (1938; reprint, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964)164–170.

43. Richard Buel Jr., *In Irons: Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) 107–133 and following.

44. East, 49–194.

45. Ibid., 311–314. E. Wayne Carp, *To Starve the Army at Pleasure* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 55–73. On the role of James Mease, see chapter 8 in this volume. His father was clothier general to the army.

46. *Letters* 5: 226.

47. Alfred F. Young, *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999) 58–60; Nettels, 8–13.

48. *Letters* 4: 536; James A. Henretta, "The War for Independence and American Development," in Ronald Hoffman, Russell Menard, and Peter Albert, eds., *The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period, 1763–1790* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988) 45–87; Rolla M. Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917) 112–122.

49. Sheller, 188.

PART II: The Critical Period

1. *New York Daily Advertiser* April 9, 1789, p. 3. *Maryland Journal* April 17, 1787, p. 2; Oct. 23, 1787, p. 3; Dec. 25, 1787, p. 3; Feb. 12, 1788, p. 2; June 24, 1788, p. 4; Aug. 8, 1788, p. 4. J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860* (Philadelphia: Edward Young, 1864) 2: 73.

2. William Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (1893; reprint, New York: A. M. Kelley, 1971) 89–100, 116–120; *Boston Gazette* Oct. 6, 1788; *New York Daily Advertiser* Aug. 6, 1789, p. 2.

3. Robert D. Arbuckle, "John Nicholson and the Attempt to Promote Pennsylvania Industry in the 1790s," *Pennsylvania History* 42 (1975) 99–114.

4. Bishop, 2: 51–52, 71–72; Bagnall, 222–227.

5. *Pennsylvania Gazette* June 28, 1784; *Pennsylvania Journal* May 29, 1789, p. 3; Bishop, 2: 51–52, 68; Arbuckle, 104–106.

6. John F. Amelung, "Remarks on Manufactures, Principally on the New Established Glass House near Frederick-Town in the State of Maryland" (1787); *Maryland Gazette* March 26, 1784, p. 3; May 21, 1784, p. 3; *New York Daily Advertiser* Nov. 27, 1788, p. 3; May 12, 1789, p. 2; March 8, 1790, p. 4; July 2, 1790, p. 3.

7. The Baltimore figures are compiled from advertisements in the 1784 *Maryland Gazette*. In Philadelphia see *Pennsylvania Gazette* Aug. 11, 1784, p. 3; Sept. 1, 1784, p. 3. "Letters of Phineas Bond," *Annual Report of the AHA* (1897) 488.

8. Rolla M. Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917) 123–163; Arthur Harrison Cole, ed., *Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of Alexander Hamilton* (Chicago: A. H. Shaw, 1928) 66; "Letters of Phineas Bond," 632, 651.

9. George S. White *Memoirs of Samuel Slater* (Philadelphia, 1836) 72; Walter Licht, *Industrializing America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995) 22–25; Amelung, 10; Doron Ben-Atar, "Alexander Hamilton's Alternative: Technology Piracy and the Report on Manufactures," *WMQ* 52 (1995) 389–414.

FOUR: Mechanic Protectionism

1. *Boston Gazette* June 20, 1785, p. 2, reprinted the 1767 nonimportation resolutions at the height of protectionist activity in 1785.

2. Edward C. Carter II, "The Political Activities of Mathew Carey, Nationalist, 1760–1814 (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1962) 2, 14–16; Mathew Carey, "The Urgent Necessity of an Immediate Repeal of the Whole Penal Code Candidly Considered, to which is Prefixed, An Enquiry into the Prejudices Entertained Against Catholics: Being an Appeal to the Roman Catholics of Ireland Exciting them to a Just Sense of their Civil and Religious Liberty as Citizens of a Free Nation" (Dublin, 1779); Kenneth W. Rowe, *Mathew Carey: A Study in American Economic Development* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1933) 12–13.

3. See Carey's call for the Irish to emulate the Americans in their fight against England in "Urgent Necessity," 92 and in the introductory "Advertisement."

4. *The Volunteers' Journal; or Irish Herald* Oct. 13, 1783, p. 3. Carey also wrote New Jersey governor William Livingston that during the American Revolution he had "in common with the other slaves of Europe . . . ardently wished the downfall of British tyranny in America, as much as I have always done in Ireland, my native land"; Carey to Livingston, Sept. 21, 1788, Lea and Febiger Letterbook 1, Lea and Febiger Collection, HSP. On protectionism in Ireland at this time see R. B. McDowell, "Parliamentary Independence, 1782–9" in T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan, eds., *A New History of Ireland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) 4: 273.

5. *Volunteers' Journal* April 5, 1784, p. 1.

6. R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600–1972* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989) 171; Carter, 28–30. *Volunteers' Journal* Feb. 20, 1784, pp. 2–3; March 1, 1784, p. 4; April 2, 1784, p. 4.

7. *The Parliamentary Register; or, History of the Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons Of Ireland* (Dublin, 1784) 3: 144; Carter, 31; Mathew Carey, *Autobiography* (New York: Eugene L. Schwaab, 1942; originally published in the *New England Magazine* [1833–1834]) 6–7.

8. Carter, 49–53, 89–90; Carey to Christopher Carey, May 23, 1789, to Rev. James Carey, Sept. 12, 1791, and to Thomas Carey, Sept. 13, 1791, all in Lea and Febiger Letterbook 1.

9. Carter, 117–119; Mathew Carey, "Information to Europeans who are Disposed to Migrate to the United States. In a Letter from a citizen of Pennsylvania, to his friend in Great Britain" (Philadelphia: Carey, Stewart and Co., 1790). This pamphlet has also been attributed to Benjamin Rush.

10. Mathew Carey, *The New Olive Branch* (Philadelphia: Carey, 1821) 14.

11. Mathew Carey to Rev. James Carey, Sept. 12, 1791, in Lea and Febiger Letterbook 1.

12. Carey, "Information to Europeans," 7.

13. Mathew Carey, *A Short Account of Algiers, and of its Several Wars. . . . With a Concise View of the Origin of the Rupture between Algiers and the United States* (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1794) 35. See also Carey's anger at "the pretensions of England to limit the American trade in the colonial production of her enemies" in *The Olive Branch* (Philadelphia: Carey, 1814) 216.

14. *Pennsylvania Gazette* Jan. 19, 1791, p. 3. The other committee members were Joseph Snowden, William Will, William Montgomery, Joshua Humphreys, and John Todd, Jr.

15. Rosalind Remer, *Printers and Men of Capital: Philadelphia Book Publishers in the New Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1996) 55–65; Mathew Carey, "Sir, Having on Mature Deliberations, Resolved to Withdraw from the Company of Booksellers . . . ," in *Pamphlets and Papers* (Philadelphia: Skerrett, 1826) 1: 555; *United States Gazette* (Philadelphia) June 20, 1805, p. 3, and April 17, 1806, p. 3.

16. Mathew Carey, "Address to the Printers and Booksellers Throughout the United States" (Philadelphia, 1801); *United States Gazette* Jan. 17, 1804, p. 3; *New York Daily Advertiser* June 29, 1804, p. 2; Mathew Carey, "To the Booksellers of the United States" (New York, 1802) 3–4, and *Autobiography*, 50.

17. *United States Gazette* April 30, 1802, p. 2; Aug. 8, 1803, p. 4; Vine Co. of Pennsylvania, Journal of Peter Legaux Superintendent of the Establishment of Said Company, APS.

18. *Pennsylvania Gazette* June 18, 1783, pp. 2–3. Ronald Schultz, *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) 93–94, cites A Friend to Mechanics' letter as the first reference to the mechanics as a "group distinct from the people," in other words the beginning of Philadelphia's consciousness of the mechanics as a political entity.

19. Porter remains something of a mystery man; most likely he was a tallow chandler, but the evidence is not conclusive.

20. *Independent Gazeteer* July 12, 1783, p. 2; July 19, 1783, p. 2; *Pennsylvania Gazette* June 18, 1783, pp. 2–3; J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1884) 1: 427–428; Charles S. Olton, *Artisans for Independence: Philadelphia Mechanics and the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975) 92.

21. *New York Independent Gazette* Jan. 24, 1784, p. 2; Jan. 29, 1784, p. 2; Staughton Lynd, "The Mechanics in New York Politics, 1774–1778," *Labor History* 5 (1964) 236.

22. *Independent Gazetteer* July 19, 1783, p.2; Minutes of the Seventh Pennsylvania General Assembly, 2d session, Aug. 28, 1783.

23. Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York, 8th Session, March 3, 1784; Jan. 23, 1784.

24. Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, June 30, 1784; Oct. 18, 1784; Oct. 25, 1784; Jan. 25, 1785; Feb. 2, 1785; Feb. 25, 1785.

25. *Maryland Gazette*, Aug. 20, 1784, p. 2.

26. Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation: A History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781–1789* (New York: Knopf, 1950) 90; *Massachusetts Centinel* April 2, 1785, p.3; April 20, 1785, p.3; April 23, 1785, p.3; April 27, 1785, p.3; *Boston Gazette* April 18,1785, p. 2; *Pennsylvania Gazette* May 18, 1785, p. 2.

27. *Boston Gazette* May 9, 1785, p.2; *Massachusetts Centinel* May 7, 1785, p.3.

28. Journal of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, May 30, 1785; May 31, 1785; July 2, 1785. William F. Zornow, "Massachusetts Tariff Policies, 1775–1789," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 90 (1954) 194–215.

29. The letter was printed in full in the *Boston Gazette* Sept. 19, 1785.

30. For example, see ibid., Oct. 10, 1785, p. 3, for evidence that the letter was sent to Hartford and Norwich, Connecticut.

31. *Pennsylvania Gazette* March 23, 1785, p. 3; Schultz, 98; Olton, 103.

32. *Pennsylvania Gazette* May 11, 1785, p. 3; May 18, 1785, p. 2. The minutes and resolves of the April meeting were reprinted in ibid., June 22, 1785, p. 3.

33. Ibid., June 8, 1785, p. 3.

34. Compared, especially, with the merchants' resolves of April 6, which did not discuss manufacturing, and which were written before news of the Boston resolves reached Philadelphia. The April 6 resolves were reprinted in ibid., June 18, 1785.

35. See Schultz, 69–101; Olton, 95–107; and Robert L. Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776–1790* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942) 156–190, for discussion of the competition between constitutionalists and republicans and how both attempted to attract mechanic votes.

36. Schultz, 98–100, assumes that it was a mechanic who proposed this last-minute amendment, but there is really no evidence either way. He rightly argues that the more important point is that mechanic concerns were clearly being taken seriously.

37. As we shall see, Pearson would play a prominent role in the mechanics and manufacturers committee's input on the 1785 protectionist legislation. The other six were Joseph Marsh; mast maker Anthony Cuthbert; cordwainer James Roney, who would play a prominent part in the 1788 federal procession; tobacconist Thomas Leiper, who also would play a prominent role in 1788; Thomas Proeter; and rope maker James Lang.

38. There is, however, a suggestion that at least some mechanics were calling for a separate meeting in July in *Pennsylvania Gazette* July 27, 1785, pp. 2–3.

39. Charles G. Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore: Workers and Politics in the Age of Revolution 1763–1812* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984) 82; *Maryland Journal* June 24, 1785, p. 2. References to protection were common in the Baltimore press during the fall and winter of 1785. Even one candidate for the state legislature felt compelled to defend his record on protection. See ibid., Sept. 23, 1785, p. 2; Sept. 30, 1785, pp. 1–2.

40. *Boston Gazette* Oct. 31, 1785, p. 3.

41. The petition was received by the House of Delegates on November 28; Votes and Proceedings of the Maryland House of Delegates, Nov. 28, 1785. On smaller towns see the *New York Journal* Oct. 20, 1785, p. 2; *Boston Gazette* Oct. 31, 1785, p. 3; *Maryland Journal* Sept. 30, 1785, p. 2. There is evidence that the manufacturers of Frederick, Maryland, received the letter and approved of it in the *Maryland Journal* Oct. 28, 1785, p. 2.

42. There were frequent references to events in Boston in the *New York Journal* of 1785; however, New York's mechanics did not bother to respond to the circular letter until 1788, and the chamber of commerce appears to have been more active in protectionist politics in 1785 than the mechanics themselves. For the 1788 response to the Boston letter see GSMT minutes, Sept. 26, 1788 and following, GSMT headquarters, New York.

43. Ibid.; Thomas Earle and Charles Congden, *Annals of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York, 1785–1880* (New York, 1882) 7–10; Lynd.

44. Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina

Press, 1980); John E. Crowley, *This Sheba, Self* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

45. The scholarship on classical republicanism and liberalism is vast. My understanding of how they intersect with the political economy of this period has been shaped by McCoy; Joyce Appleby, "The Social Origins of American Revolutionary Ideology," *JAH* 64 (1977) 935–958, and *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York: New York University Press, 1984); John R. Nelson, *Liberty and Property: Political Economy and Policymaking in the New Nation, 1789–1812* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); Cathy Matson and Peter Onuf, *A Union of Interests* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990).

46. My understanding of mercantilism and neomercantilism has been informed by Lars Magnusson, *Mercantilism: The Shaping of an Economic Language* (New York: Routledge, 1994); John E. Crowley, *The Privileges of Independence: Neomercantilism and the American Revolution* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Joseph J. Persky, *The Burden of Dependency: Colonial Themes in Southern Economic Thought* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Richard B. Morris, "Labor and Mercantilism in the Revolutionary Era" in Morris, ed., *The Era of the American Revolution* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1965); William Appleman Williams, *The Contours of American History* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1961) and "The Age of Mercantilism: An Interpretation of the American Political Economy, 1763 to 1828," *WMQ* 15 (1959); Philip W. Buck, *The Politics of Mercantilism* (New York: Octagon Books, 1964); Thomas J. Schaeper, *The French Council of Commerce, 1700–1715* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1983).

47. Morris; Jon C. Teaford, *The Municipal Revolution in America: Origins of Modern Urban Government, 1650–1825* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975); Schaeper, 150–162.

48. *Pennsylvania Gazette* May 18, 1785, p. 2. Original emphasis.

49. Ibid., March 23, 1785, p. 3.

50. *Boston Gazette* July 25, 1785, p. 2. For other examples of the fear that British gewgaws drained Americans' cash and corrupted their virtue see letters from "A Young American," "A Farmer," and "Philo-Patrie" in ibid., Feb. 27, 1786, p. 2, and Jan. 31, 1785, p. 3. See also examples in Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution" *WMQ* 24 (1967) 3–43.

51. *Boston Gazette* Sept. 19, 1785, p.3.

52. Ibid., May 9, 1785, p. 2.

53. *Pennsylvania Gazette* May 11, 1785. For similar arguments see the letters of "Freedom" and "A Plain but Real Friend to America" in the *Boston Gazette* Feb. 28, 1785, and *Maryland Journal* Aug. 16, 1785. The support of New York's mechanics for a more powerful national congress in *New York Journal* Feb. 2, 1785, p. 1, is based on similar assumptions.

54. Persky.

55. *Maryland Journal* Aug. 22, 1786.

56. *Boston Gazette* May 9, 1785, p. 2.

57. *New York Independent Gazette* Jan. 29, 1784, p. 2.

58. *Boston Gazette* May 9, 1785, p. 2.

59. Usually calling themselves "manufacturers," the Baltimoreans occasionally referred to themselves as "mechanics." See *Maryland Journal* Oct. 4, 1785, p. 3, and *Boston Gazette* Oct. 31, 1785, p. 3.

60. Gary John Kornblith, "From Artisans to Businessmen: Master Mechanics in New England, 1789–1850" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1983) 62. On Belcher's wartime activities see chapter 3 in this volume.

61. Kornblith, 62–63. In an article referring to Austin's candidacy for the state legislature in the *Boston Gazette* May 11, 1786, p. 3, a "Baker" wrote, "now this stripling calls himself a tradesman because he's got some men under his foreman working with tools that he wouldn't have made here but imported them." See also Samuel Eliot Morison's entry on Austin in *DAB* 431–432. Morrison and Kornblith both note that Austin came under the influence of Sam Adams during the Revolution. This, too, probably helped to shape Austin's self-image as a mechanic.

62. Steffen, 84; Tina H. Sheller, "Artisans and the Evolution of Baltimore Town" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1990) 287. Fonerden manufactured the metal cards used in early textile manufacturing, not playing cards.

63. Schultz, 100, 142. Leiper and Cuthbert ran for common council as Republicans in 1796.

64. *New York Daily Advertiser* April 24,1788, p. 2; April 10, 1789, p. 2; April 19, 1790, p. 2; April 15, 1791, p. 3; Edmund P. Willis, "Social Origins of Political Leadership in New York City from the Revolution to 1815" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1967) appendix. Post also served as assistant from 1793–97 and alderman from 1797–1801.

65. Willis, appendix.

66. In New York members paid a sixteen shilling initiation fee as well as monthly dues, a fact that would prevent poorer mechanics from joining. GSMT minutes; Earle and Congden, 9–10.

67. In Boston and Baltimore, members of the committees appear, at least initially, to have been selected as representatives of the various trades by a fairly large group of mechanics. In Boston, twenty branches were represented. *Boston Gazette* May 9, 1785; Sept. 19, 1785; *Maryland Journal* Sept. 30, 1785; Oct. 4, 1785; Earle and Congdon, 10–11; GSMT minutes Jan. 2, 1786.

68. Boston's and Baltimore's committees also were selected as representatives of the various trades by a larger group of mechanics.

69. For a more detailed description of the members see Lawrence A. Peskin, "From Protection to Encouragement," *JER* 18 (1998) 596–598.

70. 1792 figures from incorporation list in Earle and Congden, 22–23; 1798 list in Earle and Congden, 236–240.

71. Schultz, 77–84, 98–101; Jensen, 282–301.

72. Cathy Matson, " 'Fair Trade, Free Trade': Economic Ideas and Opportunities in Eighteenth Century New York City Commerce" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1985) 225.

73. Cathy Matson, "Liberty, Jealousy and Union: The New York Economy in the 1780s," in Paul Gilje and William Pencak, eds., *New York in the Age of the Constitution, 1775–1800* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh-Dickinson University Press, 1992); Matson and Onuf. See also the description of the thought of Philadelphia merchant John Swanwick as "free-trade mercantilism" in Roland M. Baumann, "John Swanwick: Spokesman for 'Merchant-Republicanism" in Philadelphia, 1790–1798," *PMHB* 92 (April 1973) 144.

74. *New York Journal* June 23, 1785, p. 3; Lynd, 241–242; *Pennsylvania Gazette* June 8, 1785, p. 3. Boston's merchants made similar assertions at their April meeting; *Boston Gazette*, April 18, 1785, p. 2.

75. *Boston Gazette* April 18, 1785, p. 2.

76. Philadelphia town meeting resolves, *Pennsylvania Gazette* June 22, 1785, p. 3.

77. *New York Journal* June 23, 1785, p. 3. They, and others, presumably supported the impost on the grounds that it would produce revenue for the national government.

78. *Maryland Journal* Nov. 28, 1783, pp. 2–3.

79. *Boston Gazette* April 18, 1785, p. 2; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 18, 1785, p. 2; *Boston Gazette*, May 9, 1785, p. 2; Oct. 10, 1785, p. 3. All emphasis is original.

80. *Pennsylvania Gazette* June 8, 1785, p. 3.

81. For overviews of the legislation see Willard Clark Fisher, "American Trade Regulations before 1789," *Papers of the American Historical Association* 3 (New York, 1889) 467–493; Emory R. Johnson et al., *History of the Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1915) 134–139; Victor S. Clark, *History of the Manufactures of the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929) 1: 56–63; Jensen, 337–342.

82. *Laws of Pennsylvania* (August 1785) 669; Clark, 1: 62.

83. William Frank Zornow, "Massachusetts Tariff Policies, 1775–1789," 212.

84. *Laws of Pennsylvania* (August 1785) 669–672.

85. Zornow, 203–204; Johnson, 137.

86. The Pennsylvania act did not define "foreign," but in laying tariffs on rum it distinguished between "foreign" rum and rum "distilled in the state from whence it be imported." The latter was exempted from duties, leading me to conclude that "foreign" products were those manufactured outside the United States. The New York act exempted "all goods and merchandize of the growth, production and manufacture of any of the United States of America," and the Massachusetts act had similar provisos. See William Frank Zornow, "New York Tariff Policies, 1775–1789," *New York History* 37 (1956) 44–45, and "Massachusetts Tariff Policies," 205–208.

87. This message may be found in the *Freeman's Journal* April 13, 1785, p. 2, and *American Museum* 5 (Jan. 1789) 49–51.

88. The November legislation raised ad valorem rates for many goods to 5 percent. For the legislation see *Laws of New York* Seventh Session (1784) 11–14; Eighth Session (1784) 20–21; Zornow, "New York Tariff Policies."

89. The mechanics considered another petition drive to the state legislature in 1787. GSMT minutes, Feb. 7, 1787; Feb. 27, 1787; Earle and Congdon, 12–13.

90. Zornow, "New York Tariff Policies," 45–46. The 1787 act added a 7.5 percent duty on some goods, such as wooden tools, writing paper, blank books, hats, cabinetmakers' and joiners' work, and others.

91. Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates, Jan. 21, 1785; *Laws of Maryland* (1784) chap. 84.

92. Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates, Feb. 11, 1786; March 3, 1786.

93. Ibid., Dec. 19, 1786.

94. On mechanic federalism see Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1903) 29–31; Nelson, 19; Jackson Turner Main, *The Antifederalists* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961) 274–275.

95. *New York Daily Advertiser* Feb.15, 1788, p. 3; April 24, 1788, p. 2; April 26, 1788, p. 2; April 28, 1788, p. 2; April 29, 1788, p. 2.

96. Ibid., May 30, 1788, p. 2. Lynd, 243, notes that there were no suffrage requirements and the election was conducted by secret ballot, so mechanics would, theoretically at least, not have been barred from having their say, either by pecuniary requirements or by the influence of the better sorts that could emerge in open balloting.

97. For notices of these meeting see *New York Daily Advertiser* July 3, 1788, p. 2; July 5, 1788, p. 2; July 9, 1788, p. 2; July 15, 1788, p. 2; July 16, 1788, p. 2; July 18, 1788, p. 2; July 19, 1788, p. 2; July 21, 1788, p. 2. It seems safe to assume that others occurred but were not advertised.

98. *Maryland Journal* Aug. 22, 1786.

99. For McHenry's views on manufacturing see "Observations Relative to a Commercial Treaty with Great Britain etc. etc. etc. written in 1784, by James McHenry esq.," *American Museum* 5 (June 1789) 550–554. On McHenry generally see Bernard C. Steiner, *The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1907); *DAB* 62–63; Edward C. Papenfuse et al., *Directory of Maryland Legislators, 1635–1789* (Annapolis: Maryland Bicentennial Commission, 1974) 588–590. Sheller argues that mechanics supported McHenry primarily because he was a Presbyterian who opposed a proposal to use state funding for an Episcopal college. She does not examine his position on manufacturing. The college bill was an important issue, but I think McHenry's political economy also was attractive to the mechanics.

100. *Maryland Journal* Aug. 22, 1786, p. 3; Sept. 1, 1786, p. 3; Sept. 5, 1786, p. 3; Sept. 12, 1786, p. 3; Sheller, 299–300; Steffen, 87–88, speculates that McHenry might have been more successful had the mechanics pushed harder on the protectionism issue. In the 1787 election the mechanics temporarily deserted McHenry. The majority appears to have supported prominent patriot Samuel Chase for the House of Delegates, but toward the end of the election their support began to swing away from Chase, who was suspected of opposing the recently drafted Constitution (and indeed later became an important antifederalist), and toward McHenry and Philip Rogers, who entered the election nearly at the last minute as "well known friends to the new Federal Constitution." Despite these developments, and perhaps because they occurred so late in the election, Chase was able to retain enough of his support to defeat McHenry. Only later would Chase declare himself an antifederalist. Sheller, 302–310; Steffen, 88–90; Eric Robert Papenfuse, "Unleashing the 'Wildness': The Mobilization of Grass Roots Antifederalism in Maryland," *JER* 16 (1996) 84–86.

101. *Maryland Journal* April 11, 1788, p. 2. This ship would also be displayed in the larger and more famous parade celebrating the ratification of the Constitution.

102. Steffen, 92.

103. *Boston Gazette* Dec. 10, 1787, p. 4. See also Oct. 15, 1787, p. 3; Oct. 22, 1787, p. 3.

104. They were published in Boston's *Independent Chronicle* in December 1787 and January 1788 and can be found in Herbert J. Storing, ed., *The Complete Anti-Federalist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) 4: 124–137. Storing notes that either Sam Adams or Austin wrote them, but I have found no evidence for Adams' authorship, whereas evidence for Austin's authorship can be found in several places, most convincingly in a footnote to a newspaper spoof of one of the Candidus pieces referring to Candidus's earlier authorship of "skimble skamble stuff about abolishing the law" under the signature Honestus, and of pieces signed "Brutus" and "Citizen." Austin's antilawyer pieces written under the pseudonym Honestus were already well known, and Morison has documented that he also wrote under the name Citizen, so the note seems to refer to

Austin, and due to the notoriety of the Honestus pieces it would have been easily understood by most readers. For the spoof see *Massachusetts Centinel* Dec. 26, 1787, p.1.

105. Storing, 4: 128.

106. Ibid., 4: 129.

107. In the Candidus piece of Dec. 6, 1787, he suggested legislation that would require only two-thirds of the states to agree to commercial legislation, compared to the unanimity called for by the Articles of Confederation. As twelve of the thirteen states had agreed to the impost of 1785, this change would presumably have made a national impost possible. In the December 20, 1787, piece, however, he offered a more complex scheme that would have created a limited federal government empowered to pass legislation pertaining to commerce and national defense.

108. Madison, of course, touted this as an advantage of the Constitution in Federalist Paper no. 10, where he alluded to mechanic protectionists as one of the factions from which an expanded republic would protect the polity. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers* (New York: New American Library of World Literature, 1961) 79.

109. *Boston Gazette* Jan. 4, 1788, p. 1; John C. Miller, *Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1936, reprinted 1969) 377–379, also viewed this resolution as an effort to show Sam Adams that his antifederalist leanings were not supported by the mechanics who were his chief constituency.

110. The dates of occurrence and my sources for descriptions of the parades are as follows: Boston, February 8, 1788 (*Boston Gazette* Feb. 11, 1788, p. 3); Baltimore, May 1, 1788 (*Maryland Journal* May 6, 1788); Philadelphia, July 4, 1788 (*Pennsylvania Gazette* July 9, 1788, reprinted in Scharf and Westcott, 1:447–452); New York, August 2, 1788 (*Daily Advertiser* Aug. 2, 1788).

111. Jurgen Heideking, "The Federal Processions of 1788 and the Origins of American Civic Religion," *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 77 (1994) 367–387; Sean Wilentz, "Artisan Republican Festivals," in Michael H. Frisch and Daniel J. Walkowitz, eds., *Working Class America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983) 37–77, and *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Paul Gilje, "The Common People and the Constitution: Popular Culture in New York City in the Late Eighteenth Century," in Gilje and Pencak; David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) 90–107.

112. My crowd estimate is a very conservative one, based on the number of members of each craft unit listed in the *Boston Gazette* account. The figure was certainly higher, if only because the number of participants was omitted in the accounts of some units. Heideking, 370, estimates that the initial number of marchers was about 1,500, and by the end of the route it had swelled to 5,000.

113. Heideking, 372; Anonymous, "Observations on the Federal Procession on the Fourth of July, 1788," *American Museum* 4 (July 1788) 77. Unfortunately, accounts of the Baltimore parade are not detailed enough to allow an estimate of the number of participants.

114. The three later parades were also led by rural personages.

115. "Observations on the Federal Procession," 76.

116. Of the four parades studied here, New York City's was the only exception. There the merchants marched with the lawyers, college students, and philologists. Merchants

also marched with the maritime trades at the procession in Charleston, South Carolina, described in the *New York Daily Advertiser* June 7, 1788, p. 2.

117. For similar expressions see New York's painters and glaziers, chair makers, paper stainers, coach makers, and pewterers. In Philadelphia see the brickmakers, coopers, and bread makers. In Baltimore see the bakers, cabinetmakers, barbers, tallow chandlers, ship carpenters, rope makers, block makers, and sailmakers. The accounts of Boston's procession are not detailed enough to allow for analysis of individual banners and slogans.

118. "Observations on the Federal Procession," 75, emphasis added.

119. I have found protectionist or "buy American" messages in the following displays: in Baltimore, blacksmiths, silversmiths, printers; in Philadelphia, Manufacturing Society, cabinet / chair makers, potters, saddlers, sugar refiners, brewers; in New York, brewers, skinners, peruke makers, paper stainers, carvers / engravers.

120. GSMT minutes, Sept. 26, 1788; Nov. 5, 1788; Nov. 18, 1788; Dec. 3, 1788. Copy of Manufacturing Society minutes of Dec. 1, 1788 in GSMT minutes of Dec. 3, 1788.

121. Copies of this letter can be found in GSMT minutes, Nov. 18, 1788, and the *New York Daily Advertiser* Feb. 6, 1789, p. 2. Original emphasis.

122. There is evidence that the New York committee was corresponding at this time with mechanics from Baltimore and Providence, R.I., in addition to the Bostonians. See GSMT minutes, April 1, 1789; May 6, 1789; June 3, 1789; Earle and Congdon, 13, 17; *New York Daily Advertiser* March 18, 1789, p. 2; *Boston Gazette* April 27, 1789, p. 3.

123. *Maryland Journal* Feb. 13, 1789, p. 2; Feb. 20, 1789, p. 2; Feb. 27, 1789, p. 2. *New York Daily Advertiser* March 18, 1789, p. 2; Steffen, 99.

124. *Boston Gazette* April 20, 1789, p. 3; April 27, 1789, p. 3; May 11, 1789, p. 3.

125. Many of the subcommittees failed to complete their portions of the petition, and the general committee eventually washed its hands of the project by turning it over to the merchant-manufacturers' Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures. There is no evidence that this society ever completed it. Malcolm Rogers Eiselin, *The Rise of Pennsylvania Protectionism* (1932; reprint, Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1974) 21. *Pennsylvania Gazette* April 1, 1789, p. 1. *Pennsylvania Packet* April 8, 1789, p. 3; April 18, 1789, p. 3; April 21, 1789, p. 3.

126. Texts of the Baltimore, New York, and Boston petitions may be found in *NASP* 1: 33–37. A petition by the Philadelphia shipwrights also exists. It differs somewhat from the others in that it calls for navigation acts (which of course would be protective for American shipbuilders, although not for nonmaritime mechanics).

127. The Baltimoreans wrote of "becoming independent in fact as well as in name," and the Bostonians that the "objects of their independence [were] but half obtained." The Philadelphia shipwrights also expressed similar sentiments.

128. The New Yorkers wrote of the problems of a "feeble government."

129. The preamble clearly indicated it was, in part, intended for "the encouragement and protection of manufactures," but the majority of historians have agreed that tariff levels undermined this intent to some extent. Stanwood, 39–71; Richard W. Thompson, *The History of Protective Tariff Laws* (1888; reprint, New York: Garland Press, 1974) 46–69; F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (1932; reprint, New York: A. M. Kelley, 1967) 14–15; Percy Ashley, *Modern Tariff History: Germany–United States–France* (New York: Dutton, 1926); Alfred Eckes, *Opening America's Market: United States Foreign Trade Policy since 1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995). See also Clark, 1: 270–271; Nelson, 53–54.

130. Ashley, 269–273; Pierre Clément, *Histoire du Système Protecteur en France* (Paris, 1854); Schaeper, 200–210; Taussig, 68–108. Tariffs of 30 percent and higher were common in France, and many goods were prohibited altogether. For a particularly graphic example see the 1786 schedule for the *Cinq grosses fermes* reprinted in Clément, 300–304. The American tariff of 1828 had rates as high as 45 percent.

131. See, for example, petitions by New York and Philadelphia mechanics in 1801 and 1803 respectively in *NASP* 1: 78, 95.

132. Stanwood, 39–70, offers much insight into how labyrinthine and difficult negotiation of the 1789 tariff had been.

FIVE: Manufacturing Societies

1. *Pennsylvania Herald* Aug. 4, 1787, p. 3. Original emphasis.

2. Ibid., Aug. 11, 1787, p. 3. A similar idea was being considered as early as 1785 according to *Pennsylvania Gazette* July 13, 1785, p. 3.

3. By "merchant-manufacturer" I refer to merchants who were financially interested in large-scale manufactories. This usage differs from the traditional European understanding of merchant-manufacturers as merchants who bought large quantities of raw materials and distributed them to be manufactured by outworkers. On the European usage of the terms see François Crouzet, *The First Industrialists: The Problem of Origins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 4–6; Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain, 1700–1820* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble, 1985); Paul Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century* (London: J. Cape, 1961) 62.

4. Jacob E. Cooke, *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978) 15; Harold Hutcheson, *Tench Coxe: A Study in Economic Development* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1938) 4.

5. On the American Manufactory see chapter 3 in this volume and Jennifer A. Moon, "The Best Poor Man's Industry: Politics and the Political Economy of Poor Relief in Revolutionary Philadelphia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1995) 163–172.

6. Cooke, 25–26.

7. Ibid., 202–208, 274–292; Tench Coxe, "A Brief Examination of Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the United States" (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1791).

8. There was a small group of merchant republicans, described by one historian as "free trade mercantilists" who shared some of Coxe's views. See Roland M. Baumann, "John Swanwick: Spokesman for 'Merchant Republicanism' in Philadelphia, 1790–1798," *PMHB* 92 (April 1973) 131–182.

9. Cooke, 72–74, and chapter 4 in this volume.

10. Cooke, 72–73; Robert L. Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776–1790* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942) 171–173; Charles S. Olton, *Artisans for Independence: Philadelphia Mechanics and the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975) 103–107; *Pennsylvania Gazette* Jan. 12, 1785, p. 3; Jan. 19, 1785, p. 3; Feb. 23, 1785, pp. 2–3; March 2, 1785, p. 3; June 8, 1785, p. 3.

11. *Pennsylvania Gazette* June 22, 1785, p. 3; Olton, 105; Ronald Schultz, *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) 98. I discuss this meeting in greater detail in chapter 4.

12. Cooke, 80–82.

13. Tench Coxe, "Address to an Assembly of the Friends of American Manufactures," *American Museum* 2 (Aug. 1787) 255, also reprinted in *A View of the United States of America* (1794; reprint, New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1965) 34–56.

14. Cooke, 311–313 and passim.

15. Ibid., 528–535.

16. Mathew Carey to Tench Coxe, Oct. 1, 1788, and Oct. 1788, Lea and Febiger Letterbook 1, Lea and Febiger Collection, HSP. On Coxe's response see Cooke, p. 123, n. 41. For further evidence of Coxe and Carey's relationship see Carey to Coxe July 7, 1790, Letterbook 2; Feb. 19, 1793, Letterbook 3; Feb. 11, 1794, Letterbook 4.

17. Cooke, 437–446.

18. Ibid., 528. These papers were the *Federal Gazette* and the *Freeman's Journal and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser.*

19. Cooke, 149–150.

20. Ibid., 217–231; Hutcheson, 28–36. The three reports were "Miscellaneous Notes on the Fisheries," an untitled report on navigation duties, and "Thoughts on the Navigation of the United States."

21. This and subsequent paragraphs is based on a fuller exposition of Coxe's political economy derived from his many writings in Lawrence A. Peskin, "To Protect and Encourage: The Intellectual Origins of American Manufacturing, 1763–1820" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1998) 202–221.

22. Tench Coxe, "An Enquiry into the Principles on which a Commercial System for the United States of America Should be Founded" (Philadelphia: Robert Aitken, 1787) 35–38.

23. Coxe, *View of the United States*, 326–327.

24. Coxe, "Enquiry," 23–24. For a similar argument see "Address to the Friends of American Manufactures," 253, where he notes shipping costs might increase the 5 percent duty to as much as 50 percent in some cases.

25. Coxe , "Enquiry," 48–49. Original emphasis.

26. Coxe, *View of the United States*, 308–309; Coxe, "A Communication from the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts" (Philadelphia: Samuel Ackerman, 1804) 22–23.

27. Robert V. Remini, *Henry Clay: Statesman for Union* (New York: Norton, 1991) 235.

28. Societies were founded in Germantown, Pennsylvania; Richmond, Virginia; Philadelphia County (then a separate entity from the city); Wilmington, Delaware; Burlington, New Jersey; Morristown and Newark, New Jersey; Elkton, Maryland, and probably other towns. Joseph Stancliffe Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917) 2: 255–283; Frank Warren Crow, "The Age of Promise: Societies for Social and Economic Improvement in the United States, 1789–1840" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1952) 266.

29. "Report of the Committee for American Manufacturers," *American Museum* 4 (Nov. 1788) 405. Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts, minutes of the manufacturing committee, Dec. 21, 1787, Jan. 28, 1788, and passim, HSP; *New York Daily Advertiser* Nov. 25, 1789, p. 3; Jan. 9, 1790, p. 3; July 15, 1790, p. 3; April 6, 1793, p. 2.

30. Mantoux, 367.

31. "Address of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Society for the Promo-

tion of Manufactures and the Useful Arts," *American Museum* 2 (Aug. 1787) 360. See also Tench Coxe, "Address to an Assembly of the Friends of American Manufactures," 248.

32. Tench Coxe, "A Communication from the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts."

33. See chapter 4.

34. The merchants were Mordecai Lewis, Tench Coxe, John Nixon, and George Clymer, all directors. The mechanic was James Pearson, who served on the manufacturing committee. In addition, Francis Gurney, who served on the town committee overseeing the 1785 meeting later became a manufacturing committee member.

35. The new manufactories I have located were Gerardus Duyckinck Jr. paper manufactory (*New York Packet* April 10, 1787, p. 3); William C. Thompson glove manufactory (ibid., July 3, 1788, p. 3); West and Bulger parchment manufactory (ibid., Aug. 24, 1787, p. 3); Ananias Cooper brush manufactory (ibid., Nov. 2, 1787, p. 1). In addition, Peter T. Curtenius and Co. revived the New York Air Furnace, which had been dormant during the war (ibid., Nov. 20, 1787, p. 3). Brush maker Ananias Cooper was also a manufacturing society member.

36. Adam Fonerden's card manufactory (*Maryland Journal* April 13, 1787, p. 3) is the only new manufactory for 1787, but it is possible that Andrew Van Bibber's nail manufactory, which was hiring apprentices in December (ibid., Dec. 25, 1787, p. 3), also opened the same year. In Baltimore's environs the Thomas Harwood tobacco manufactory in Lower Marlborough (ibid., March 27, 1787, p. 3); and the Hart and McKee nail manufactory in Hagerstown (ibid., July 20, 1787, p. 1) opened. The next year the McCausland soap and candle manufactory (ibid., Feb. 12, 1788, p. 2), James Hickley millstone manufactory (ibid., June 24, 1788, p. 4), and the James Osburn boot and shoe manufactory (ibid., Aug. 8, 1788, p. 4) all opened in Baltimore. In addition, Richardson Stuart was advertising for one hundred nailers to work in his nearby Patapsco slitting mill, and Adam Fonerden was also hiring for his smaller nail mill (ibid., March 28, 1788, p. 1; Aug. 8, 1788, p. 2).

37. Pennsylvania Society constitution in *American Museum* 2 (Aug. 1787) 167–169; New York in *Daily Advertiser* March 21, 1789, p. 2; Baltimore in *Maryland Journal* May 15, 1789, p. 2 and *American Museum* 3 (June 1789) 591. New York and Baltimore both charged £10 per share whereas the Pennsylvanians charged only a 10 s. membership fee, but later they also solicited for a manufacturing fund, most of the subscribers to which paid £10 (see list of subscribers attached to "Plan of the Pennsylvania Society . . . ," Society Collection, HSP). New York and Pennsylvania both had twelve directors, and Baltimore had seven. The Boston society, which never seems to have gotten off the ground, did not get so far as to specify any sort of manufacturing plan. Their proposed constitution can be found in the *Massachusetts Centinel* Sept. 13, 1788, p. 3.

38. *New York Daily Advertiser* Feb. 6, 1790, p. 2.

39. New York subscribers list from ibid., March 17, 1789, p. 2, cross-referenced with the *New York Directory and Register for the Year 1789*. Of 186 subscribers, I was able to identify the occupations of 110. Philadelphia list from "Plan of the Pennsylvania Society" and "Dues Book of the Pennsylvania Society . . . , Dock Ward, Upper Delaware Ward, 1787" (Tench Coxe Papers, microfilm, HSP) cross-referenced with Clement Biddle, *The Philadelphia Directory* (Philadelphia: James and Johnson, 1791). No such list exists for the Baltimore society.

40. Mechanics from New York City's prosperous East Ward who subscribed to the manufacturing society were assessed at an average of £642 by the tax assessor in 1791,

compared to an average of £871 for all subscribers in that ward. Members of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen living in that ward, by comparison, were assessed at an average of £341. East Ward assessment published in *Collections of the New York Historical Society* 44 (1911).

41. Moon, 306.

42. In Baltimore: Isaac Greist, Peter Hoffman, Alexander McKim, George Presstman; in Philadelphia: Nathan Sellars, Tench Coxe.

43. Crow, 251–252.

44. In Baltimore: James Edwards, Bank of Maryland; Peter Hoffman, Frederick Turnpike Subscription Committee. On the links between manufacturing, internal improvements, and banks see Cathy D. Matson, "Capitalizing Hope: Economic Thought and the Early National Economy," *JER* 16 (1996) 273–291.

45. Townsend Ward, "The Germantown Road and its Associations, Part 3," *PMHB* 5 (1881) 245; Henry Simpson, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, Now Deceased* (Philadelphia: Wm. Brotherhead, 1859) 461.

46. James G. Wilson and John Fiske, eds., *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography* (New York: D. Appleton, 1887–1900) 1: 558.

47. J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1874) 168, 196; Tina H. Sheller, "Artisans and the Evolution of Baltimore Town, 1765–1790" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1990) 146–147.

48. Davis, 1: 391–392.

49. Ibid., 1: 274. The three New York directors who subscribed were James Watson, Melancton Smith, and White Matlack.

50. W. A. Newman Dorland, "The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry," *PMHB* 54 (1930) 185; E. V. Lamberton, "Colonial Libraries of Pennsylvania," *PMHB* 17 (1918) 204; Richard Alan Ryerson, *The Revolution is Now Begun: The Radical Committees of Philadelphia, 1765–1776* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978) 72. Some confusion is possible due to a second James Pearson of Philadelphia, who was a hatter.

51. Scharf, 253.

52. GSMT minutes Jan. 2, 1787; Sept. 26, 1788; Jan. 5, 1790; Oct. 6, 1790. *New York Daily Advertiser*, April 24, 1788, p. 2; March 28, 1789, p. 2; March 18, 1790, p. 3; April 19, 1790, p. 3; Dec. 13, 1790, p. 3; March 15, 1791, p. 3. Edmund P. Willis, "Social Origins of Political Leadership in New York City from the Revolution to 1815" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1967) appendix.

53. John W. Maxson Jr., "Nathan Sellars, America's First Large Scale Maker of Paper Moulds," *The Paper Maker* 29 (1960) 10; Frank Willing Leach, *Genealogies of Old Philadelphia Families* 3 (HSP; originally printed in the *North American* from 1908–1912.). Evan Tyson Ellis, *The Story of a Very Old Philadelphia Drug Store, 1729–1875* (Philadelphia, 1903) 5. The Marshall brothers' father, Christopher Marshall Sr., wrote a well-known Revolutionary War diary.

54. Alfred F. Young, *The Democrat Republicans of New York* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967) 356; Davis, 1: 275. Duer's bankruptcy also dragged down Matlack as shown in bankruptcy notices in the *New York Daily Advertiser*, May 22, 1792; June 18, 1792, p. 3; Dec. 21, 1792, p. 2. On Duer's speculative activity see Davis, 1: 111–345; Cathy Matson, "Public Vices, Private Benefit: William Duer and his Circle, 1776–1792," in William Pencak and Conrad Edick Wright, eds., *New York and the Rise of American Capitalism* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1989).

55. Miriam Hussey, *From Merchants to "Colour Men": Five Generations of Samuel Wetherill's White Lead Business* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956) 1–25; Simpson, 943–44; Leach, 3: 37; Moon, 180–182; *Pennsylvania Gazette* Aug. 21, 1776, p. 1.

56. Wetherill Letterbooks, Nov. 8, 1790, Wetherill Collection, Special Collections, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania.

57. Draft in Samuel Wetherill Papers, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Del. Printed in *American Museum* 4 (Nov. 1788) 404–406.

58. *New York Daily Advertiser*, March 11, 1790, p. 3; March 18, 1790, p. 3. A third, compromise ticket was also published March 17, 1790, p. 2.

59. Three men, Gilbert, Melancton Smith, and Alexander Hosack, were on both tickets. White Matlack was on the establishment ticket but not the "regularly bred manufacturers," suggesting that Matlack was viewed more as a crony of William Duer than as a "regular" manufacturer.

60. Samuel Slater wrote that the machinery was "not worth using." William R. Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (1893; reprint, New York: A. M. Kelley, 1971) 125; J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608–1760* (Philadelphia: Edward Young, 1864) 1: 402–403. The *New York Daily Advertiser* Aug. 3, 1790, p. 3, shows the old guard still in charge after the election.

61. *New York Journal* Aug. 10, 1790, p. 3; Aug. 13, 1790, p. 3; Aug. 31, 1791, p. 3.

62. *Pennsylvania Herald* Aug. 25, 1787, p. 3.

63. Coxe, "Address to an Assembly of the Friends of American Manufactures," 248; Samuel Miles, "Address of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and the Useful Arts," *American Museum* 2 (Oct. 1787) 361–362.

64. On the connection between women and the consumption of foreign luxuries see John E. Crowley, *This Sheba, Self* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974) 139–140. For nongendered examples see the preamble to the "Plan of the Pennsylvania Society . . . " *American Museum* 2 (Aug. 1787) 167; Samuel Wetherill, "Report of the Committee for Manufactures," *American Museum* 4 (Nov. 1788) 406; "The Observer, no. XII," *New York Daily Advertiser* Jan. 11, 1790, p. 2.

65. Coxe, "Address to an Assembly of the Friends of American Manufactures," 249. Emphasis added. For a similar argument see Miles, 360–361. Note how Coxe's word choice parallels that of the preamble to the Constitution.

66. "Plan of the Pennsylvania Society," 167. See also the New York Manufacturing Society's reference to "the raw materials which kind Providence has given us" in *New York Daily Advertiser* Feb. 7, 1789, p. 2.

67. Miles, 361.

68. Coxe, "Address to an Assembly of the Friends of American Manufactures," 255.

69. *New York Daily Advertiser* Feb. 7, 1789, p. 2.

70. Quote from *Pennsylvania Gazette* March 19, 1788, p. 3. Accounts were kept for twenty-nine male weavers for the years 1788–1790 in the Manufacturing Society Manufacturing Book (Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Del.). The Philadelphia project employed nearly 300 women spinners and the New York project employed 130. See "Report of the Committee for American Manufactures," *American Museum* 4 (Nov. 1788) 305; *New York Daily Advertiser* Feb. 16, 1790, p. 2.

71. Miles, 360.

72. *New York Daily Advertiser* Feb. 16, 1790, p. 2; Miles, 360.

73. "Premiums offered by the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Society for the

Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts," *American Museum* 2 (Nov. 1787) 307– 309.

74. *New York Daily Advertiser* Feb. 6, 1790, p. 2. Coxe also stressed the role of southern cotton in his "Address to an Assembly of the Friends of American Manufactures," 252, and it was commonly referred to in newspapers. See for examples *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 19, 1788; June 11, 1788, p. 3; and June 25, 1788, p. 2.

75. See chapter 4.

76. *Pennsylvania Journal* July 1, 1789, p. 3. Coxe, "Address to an Assembly of the Friends of American Manufactures," 253.

77. Minutes of the Manufacturing Committee, Nov. 8, 1787; Bishop, 1: 408–409.

78. Bishop, 1: 409.

79. Davis, 2: 275; *New York Daily Advertiser* Feb. 16, 1790, p. 2. The directors had hoped for a state investment of from £1,500 to £2,000.

80. Davis, 2: 267–268, 275; "Baltimore Manufacturing Society Constitution," *Maryland Journal* May 15, 1789, p. 2; *New York Daily Advertiser* Feb. 16, 1790, p. 2.

81. Davis, 2: 291–330; Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, "Origins of the American Business Corporation," *Journal of Economic History* 5 (1945) 1–23; Stuart Bruchey, *The Roots of American Economic Growth* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1968) 128–133; Ronald E. Seavoy, *The Origins of the American Business Corporation, 1784–1855: Broadening the Concept of Public Service During Industrialization* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982).

82. This infant industries argument was made by the New York Manufacturing Society in the *New York Daily Advertiser* Feb. 16, 1790. See also "Report of a Committee of the Board of Managers [of the Pennsylvania Society]," *American Museum* 4 (Nov. 1788) 406–409.

83. Evidence of these journeymen actions is extremely fragmented. Most often it is in the form of complaints and threats in newspapers. It is often impossible to know whether journeymen carried out their threats, whether masters agreed to their demands, or even whether the threats were mere bluffs. For these reasons, I have used the term "action" rather than "strike" or "work stoppage" to reflect this uncertainty.

84. *New York Daily Advertiser* Aug. 9, 1792, p. 3; Aug. 13, 1792, p. 3; Aug. 15, 1792; Aug. 17, 1792.

85. Ibid., Aug. 15, 1792.

86. See especially the New York journeymen tailors' complaints in 1792 that masters were undercutting them by hiring women (Ibid., July 23, 1792, p. 3).

87. *Maryland Journal* March 10, 1794, p. 2; Charles G. Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore: Workers and Politics in the Age of Revolution 1763–1812* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984) 114. Masters earlier tried to tighten apprenticeship requirements so that no journeyman who had not served a full apprenticeship could be employed (*Maryland Journal* Oct. 2, 1792, p. 1). Some journeymen may have resented this and viewed it as a means of instituting longer apprenticeships and hiring fewer journeymen.

88. *New York Daily Advertiser* Aug. 13, 1792; *Maryland Journal* March 10, 1794, p. 2.

89. Alfred F. Young, "The Mechanics and the Jeffersonians, New York, 1789–1801," *Labor History* 5 (1964) 260.

90. GSMT minutes Jan. 9, 1793.

91. Roland M. Baumann, "Philadelphia's Manufacturers and the Excise Taxes of 1796: The Forging of the Jeffersonian Coalition," *PMHB* 106 (Jan. 1982) p. 9, cites several examples.

92. "A Summary of Observations made by Samuel Smith of this state, upon the resolutions introduced by him, respecting the duty on imported bar-iron," *Maryland Journal* April 18, 1794, p. 3; *NASP* 1: 71.

93. The following petitions for tariff alterations made before 1800 were denied: Baltimore paint manufacturers (1794); New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia hatters (1794); sundry manufacturers (1797); hat manufacturers (1799). The only petition approved was for the chocolate manufacturers, who requested a remission of duties on raw cocoa. See *NASP* 1: 71–74.

94. The only real attempt at such a large-scale effort was made by the Philadelphia hatters, who in 1794 sought to involve hatters in other cities in a petition against the importation of foreign hats (*Boston Gazette* Feb. 24, 1794, p. 2).

95. The Boston society seems not to have moved beyond the preliminary stage of drafting a constitution. The others were active during the following periods: Pennsylvania, August 1787–May 1790; New York, February 1789–1792; Baltimore, May 1789–1791.

96. "Report of the Committee for American Manufactures," 405.

97. *New York Daily Advertiser* Dec. 13, 1790, p. 3; Bagnall, 123–124. I have not found any newspaper ads for textiles from the factory after December 1790, although it is apparent that it was still operating until at least April 1791, when one of the directors allowed the workers time off for a special dinner of "American viands" (*New York Daily Advertiser* April 14, 1791, p. 2).

98. *Maryland Journal* May 28, 1790, p. 4.

99. "Report of the Committee for American Manufactures," 407.

100. Moon, 293.

101. Minutes of the Manufacturing Committee of the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts, Oct. 1 and 8, 1788, HSP.

102. Ibid., Feb. 18, 1789.

103. The committee also unsuccessfully sought a loan from the society's board of directors. Manufacturing Committee minutes, Jan. 28, 1789; Feb. 24, 1789; March 3, 1789; April 15, 1789; April 22, 1789.

104. The Manufacturing Committee minutes of May 13, 1789, note that "several of the weavers attended this board and represented that the price of 7 p. per yard for weaving jeans of a good quality is too low." They requested a hike to 8 p. per yard.

105. *New York Daily Advertiser* Jan. 9, 1790, p. 3.

106. Ibid., Aug. 3, 1790; *New York Journal* Aug. 13, 1790, p. 3.

107. *Maryland Journal* Dec. 11, 1789, p. 3.

108. Bagnall argues that the Baltimore project did not even generate much attention at the time (pp. 133–134). See also Richard W. Griffin, "An Origin of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland: The Textile Industry, 1789–1826," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 61 (1966) 24–25.

109. Quote from *Pennsylvania Gazette* April 8, 1792, p. 3. On Duer's financial troubles see Davis, 1: 278–338; Matson, "Public Vices, Private Benefit."

110. *New York Daily Advertiser* April 6, 1793, p. 2; May 11, 1793, p. 2; Dec. 21, 1793, p. 3; *New York Diary* Jan. 15, 1794, p. 3; Bagnall, 125–127.

111. *Pennsylvania Gazette* March 31, 1790, p. 2; Coxe, "Communication from the Pennsylvania Society"; Moon, 313; Bagnall, 79.

112. "Report of the Committee for American Manufactures," 407–408. The New Yorkers made a similar argument in the *Daily Advertiser* Feb. 16, 1790, when they noted

that "so soon as the body of the people are convinced that [a manufactory] is profitable and useful, they will of course undertake them [*sic*] themselves."

113. Jacob E. Cooke, "Tench Coxe, Alexander Hamilton, and the Encouragement of American Manufactures," *WMQ* 32 (1975) 369–392; John R. Nelson Jr., *Liberty and Property: Political Economy and Policymaking in the New Nation, 1789–1812* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987) 37–51.

114. Arthur Harrison Cole, ed., *Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of Alexander Hamilton* (Chicago: A. W. Shaw, 1928) 191.

115. See Nelson, 37–48.

116. Davis, 1: 389.

117. Nelson, 41–48; Cooke, 377.

118. Nelson, 22–65; Forrest McDonald, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York: Norton, 1979) 149–152.

119. Nelson, 39.

120. Davis, 1: 383–387.

121. The list of SUM subscribers is in Davis, 1: 391–392. The New York Manufacturing Society directors active in the SUM were Matthew Clarkson, Nicholas Cruger, William Denning, and James Watson.

122. Cole, 194.

123. See Nelson; Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Michael Brewster Folsom and Steven D. Lubar, eds., *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982) xix–xxxiv.

124. Davis, 1: 422, quoting the *Hartford Courant* May 7, 1792.

125. George Logan, "At a Meeting of the Germantown Society for promoting domestic manufactures, on Monday the 12th of August 1792, the following address was delivered by the president," *American Museum* 12 (Dec. 1792, appendix) 222–223. Logan made this argument in more detail in "Five Letters Addressed to the Yeomanry of the United States: Containing some Observations on the dangerous Scheme of Governor Duer and Mr. Secretary Hamilton, to establish National Manufactories. By a Farmer" (Philadelphia: Eleazer Oswald, 1792). Here, he quoted Adam Smith and the Rights of Man to warn that supporters of the SUM, by using the power of the state to tamper with the economy and create monopolies would destroy American manufacturing. On Logan's authorship of these essays, see Frederick Tolles, *George Logan of Philadelphia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953) 115–122.

126. *Pennsylvania Gazette* Oct. 10, 1792, p. 1. This assurance seems disingenuous, for Hamilton's report states that "pecuniary bounties" were indispensable *for new branches* of manufacture, "*except* the simple and ordinary kinds of household manufacture, or those for which there are very commanding local advantages." Furthermore, "the continuance of bounties on manufactures long established, must always be of questionable policy"; *NASP* 1: 59.

127. *Boston Gazette* Oct. 29, 1792, written in support of republican congressional candidate Benjamin Austin, a vocal critic of the federal government.

128. Davis, 1: 443; *Pennsylvania Gazette* Sept. 12, 1792, p. 1.

129. Nelson, 38–39.

130. *Boston Gazette* Oct. 29, 1792; Davis, 1: 374.

six: Agricultural Societies

1. "Address of Enoch Edwards to the Philadelphia County Society for the Promotion of Agriculture and Domestic Manufactures," *American Museum* 5 (May 1789) 555. Edwards read the address in February.

2. Edward M. Cifelli, *David Humphreys* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982) 1–102; Frank Landon Humphreys, *Life and Times of David Humphreys*, 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917).

3. Vernon L. Parrington, *The Connecticut Wits* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1926); Leon Howard, *The Connecticut Wits* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).

4. Carey published it in 1794 and reprinted it two years later, and a revised version appeared in Humphreys' *Miscellaneous Works* (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1804). Cifelli, 132 n. 9, 141. Besides the *American Museum*, Humphreys' work appeared in the *New-Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine* and the *Connecticut Courant*.

5. Parrington, x–xxiv; quotations are from xi and xii. Leo Marx has commented that even Humphreys' use of the word "industry" was old fashioned by 1802; Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967) 166.

6. David Humphreys, *A Poem on Industry. Addressed to the Citizens of the United States of America* (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1794) iii. Original emphasis.

7. This tripartite division of society into "socio-economic classes" was a common one. See Martin Burke, *The Conundrum of Class: Public Discourse on the Social Order in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) 32–52.

8. Humphreys, *On Industry*, 15.

9. Ibid., 14.

10. Ibid., 12.

11. Ibid., 19–20. This passage was deleted from the 1804 version.

12. David Humphreys, "Thoughts on the Necessity of Maintaining a Navy in the United States of America. Addressed to the American People," in *Miscellaneous Works*, 75–88; quote from p. 79.

13. For an extended discussion of the conservative nature of industrial development during this period see David Richard Kasserman, "Conservative Innovation: Introduction of the Cotton Industry into the United States, 1789–1840" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1974).

14. David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) 53–107.

15. Olive Moore Gambrill, "John Beale Bordley and the Early Years of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society," *PMHB* 66 (Oct., 1942) 415–416; *Minutes of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture* (Philadelphia: J. C. Clark, 1854) 1, 121–122; *Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture* (Philadelphia: Jane Aitken, 1808) i–ii.

16. On Logan's opposition to Hamilton see chapter 5.

17. "Constitution of the Philadelphia County Society for the Promotion of Agriculture and Domestic Manufactures" in *American Museum* 5 (Feb. 1789) 161–162; Frederick B. Tolles, *George Logan of Philadelphia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953) 88–90.

18. Frank W. Crow, "The Age of Promise: Societies for Social and Economic Improvement in the United States, 1783–1815" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1952)

148–156; Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965) 243; *The History of the New Jersey Agricultural Society, 1781–1940* (N.J. Agricultural Society, 1947).

19. "Address of Enoch Edwards," 461.

20. Ibid., 558; Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill to Timothy Pickering, April 9, 1794, PSPA Correspondence, Special Collections, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania.

21. *Minutes of the PSPA* Sept. 5, 1785; "Address of Enoch Edwards," 462; *Transactions of the Society Instituted in the State of New York for the Promotion of Agriculture, Arts and Manufactures* (New York: Childs and Swaine, 1792) vii.

22. *Laws and Regulations of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1793).

23. The New York and Massachusetts societies published their own transactions while initially the PSPA relied on newspapers and journals, especially the *American Museum.* The Philadelphia County society also published in the *American Museum.*

24. *Minutes of the PSPA* Dec. 5, 1785; Oct. 5, 1786; June 5, 1787; Feb. 6, 1789; April 14, 1789; Dec. 8, 1789; March 16, 1791; Nov. 8, 1791.

25. "Address from the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture," *American Museum* 1 (May 1787) 416–418; *Minutes of the PSPA* 19–22; "List of Premiums," in *Laws and Regulations.* The New York society does not appear to have offered premiums, but their *Transactions* dealt with similar sorts of issues.

26. Mitchill to Pickering; "O" to PSPA, March 26, 1787, PSPA Correspondence. Archivists have identified "O" as John Beale Bordley, but I have not seen convincing evidence.

27. "Act of Incorporation" in *Laws and Regulations of the Massachusetts Society; Transactions of the Society,* vii–xiii; Mitchill to Pickering; John P. Muhlenberg to Samuel Powell, Sept. 1, 1788, PSPA Correspondence; *Minutes of the PSPA* Sept. 2, 1788.

28. Gambrill, 428–433; "Outline of a Plan for Establishing a State Society of Agriculture in Pennsylvania" in *Memoirs of the PSPA* xxi–xxx.

29. Alfred C. True, *A History of Agricultural Experimentation and Research in the United States, 1607–1925,* miscellaneous publication no. 251 (Washington, D.C.: USDA, 1937) 18–21.

30. *Transactions of the Society,* 10.

31. "To the Publick" in *Laws and Regulations;* "Address of Enoch Edwards," 554–555; Mitchill to Pickering.

32. *Minutes of the PSPA* Sept. 5, 1786, Nov. 7, 1786, July 3, 1787; "Statistical Account of the Schuylkill Permanent Bridge" in *Memoirs of the PSPA.*

33. Journal of the Society for Improvement of Roads and Inland Navigation, 1791–1793, HSP; *New York Daily Advertiser* Feb. 21, 1791, p. 2. The three PSPA bridge committee members were Samuel Powell, George Clymer, and Timothy Pickering. The five PSPA members who were officers were Clymer, Tench Coxe, Robert Morris, Samuel Miles, and William Smith.

34. These products are mentioned in the societies' premiums and in the speech given by Samuel Mitchill to the New York Society at its founding. See *Laws and Regulations; Minutes of the PSPA* 19–21, 36–38, 45–48, 57–59, 66–68; *Transactions of the Society* 1–22.

35. Samuel Powell to Joseph Matthewson, esq., Feb. 11, 1790, PSPA Correspondence.

36. James A. Henretta, "The War for Independence and American Economic Development," in Ronald Hoffman, Russell Menard, and Peter Albert, eds., *The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period, 1763–1790* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988) 45–87.

37. William Cooper, "A letter on the Manufacture of Maple Sugar," *Transactions of the Society*, 86–87; Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town* (New York: Vintage, 1995) 117–134; Papers of the Society for Promoting the Manufacture of Sugar . . . , HSP; *Pennsylvania Gazette* July 18, 1792, p. 3; *Transactions of the Society* 14–15; Humphreys, *On Industry*, 10–11.

38. This passage appeared in the 1802 version but not in the original. Humphreys, *Miscellaneous Works*, 104. This fear of luxury was common, although, as far as I know, Humphreys was the only author to see it as a health threat. See John E. Crowley, *This Sheba, Self* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974) 77–78, 137–139. Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," *WMQ* 24 (1967) 3–43, makes a strong argument that this fear of luxury was a product of New England's Puritan heritage, a point that seems particularly relevant in the case of Humphreys, son of a Connecticut Congregationalist minister.

39. *Boston Gazette* Nov. 27, 1769; Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters* (Boston: Little Brown, 1980).

40. *New York Packet* June 22, 1787, p. 2; *Boston Gazette* Aug. 10, 1789, p. 2.

41. Howard B. Rock, " 'All her Sons Join as one Social Band': New York City's Artisanal Societies in the Early Republic," in Howard B. Rock, Paul Gilje, and Robert Asher, eds., *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750–1850* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995) 155–175.

42. Tench Coxe, "Address to an Assembly of the Friends of American Manufactures," *American Museum* 2 (Sept. 1787) 248; Samuel Miles, "Address to the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and the Useful Arts," *American Museum* 2 (Oct. 1787) 361–362; *Pennsylvania Herald* Aug. 5, 1787, p. 3.

43. Jennifer A. Moon, "The Best Poor Man's Industry: Politics and the Political Economy of Poor Relief in Revolutionary Philadelphia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1995) 291; *New York Daily Advertiser* May 23, 1789, p. 2.

44. Humphreys, *On Industry*, 8; "Address of Enoch Edwards," 462; *Minutes of the PSPA* Sept. 5, 1785 (emphasis added).

45. *Minutes of the PSPA* Feb. 9, 1790; *Pennsylvania Gazette* July 18, 1792, p. 3. A possible exception was Comfort Sands of Otsego County. Comfort could be used as a masculine name, so it is possible that even this winner was not a woman.

PART THREE: Toward Industrialization

1. Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984) 107–142.

2. Based on the 1810 census. While this census was widely derided at the time, the main charge was that it badly *underestimated* manufactures. This problem was probably least serious for large urban manufactories, which the census enumerators could locate much more easily than smaller establishments in the countryside. Still, even if the urban proportion of these trades were halved, cities would still have dominated far out of proportion to their populations.

3. Wilentz, 30; *Laws of New York* Thirty-third Session (1811) 89; *Evening Post* (New York) Nov. 1, 1810, p. 3.

4. William Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (1893; reprint, New York: A. M. Kelley, 1971) 9, 54; Victor S. Clark, *History of the Manufactures of the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929) 1: 206.

5. Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790–1860* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1961) 56.

6. Bagnall, 488–497; Richard W. Griffin, "An Origin of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland: The Textile Industry, 1789–1826," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 6 (1966) 24–36; J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860* (Philadelphia: Edward Young, 1864) 2: 131–132; *Baltimore American* June 5, 1810, p. 2; Jan. 27, 1808, pp. 2–3.

7. Clark, 1: 544–547; Thomas Cochran and William Miller, *The Age of Enterprise* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1961) 14.

8. Jonathan Prude, *The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810–1860* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 52–64; Rolla Milton Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917) 242–303.

9. Aron Clark, *A List of all the incorporations in the State of New York* (Albany: Jesse Buel, 1819) 42–53; Caroline F. Ware, *The Early New England Cotton Manufacture* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931) 301–302. The 1832 report on manufacturing (known as the McLane Report) is reprinted in *NASP* vols. 3–8. Of 129 manufacturing firms newly incorporated in New York in the 1810s, only four were located in New York City.

10. On Cooper's project see chapter 6.

11. Bagnall, 501–523. See too the information provided by William Walcott (Benjamin's son) in the McLane Report, *NASP* 6: 39–43. On the destinations of Oneida and Otsego County goods see the responses in the McLane Report.

SEVEN: Redefining Manufacturing

1. Quoted in Daniel Feller, *The Jacksonian Promise: America, 1815–1840* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995) 30. The term was also used by Condorcet as one with a "talent for mechanics." Quoted in David Freeman Hawkes, *Nuts and Bolts of the Past: A History of American Technology, 1776–1860* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1988) 33.

2. The name officially changed to the Massachusetts Mechanic Association in 1804, but this was its common appellation from the start. Even the membership certificate for those who had completed their apprenticeships described in the 1795 constitution used the term "Massachusetts Mechanic Association." Joseph T. Buckingham, *Annals of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1853) 9, 83–84.

3. Gary John Kornblith, "From Artisans to Businessmen: Master Mechanics in New England, 1789–1850" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1983), makes a similar argument.

4. *Boston Gazette* Sept. 19, 1785, p. 3.

5. Buckingham, 6, 68. An 1810 membership list noted each member's trade. See Benjamin Russell, "An Address Delivered Before the Mass. Charitable Mechanic Association . . . " (Boston: John Eliot Jr., 1810) 39–45.

6. The president and secretary of the association took the lead in calling for their members and the town's other mechanics to make arrangements for the memorial processions. *Boston Gazette* Jan. 2, 1800, p. 3; Jan. 6, 1800, p. 2; Jan. 9, 1800, p. 3; Jan. 13, 1800, p. 4. Quote from Jan. 13, 1800, p. 3.

7. For a discussion of Boston's mechanics and memories of their Revolutionary glory, see Alfred F. Young, *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999) 121–131.

8. Buckingham, 6.

9. Based on Buckingham's biographies of fifty early society members, ibid., 17–49, I found indications that twenty-three of the fifty had served apprenticeships. In a few cases I assumed that references to "learning their trade" indicated apprenticeship.

10. Ibid., 21–22, 24–32.

11. Ibid., 21, 23, 37.

12. Ibid., 35, 46; Kornblith, 90–92.

13. Buckingham, 117–119. See too the 1812 speech of John Fairbanks, who spoke of the expectation that "government will protect commerce and encourage the mechanic arts, as these will best reward the farmer for his labors" in ibid., 126.

14. Ibid., 16, 71–72; quote from p. 71.

15. On New York see chapter 4 in this volume. On Providence see Gary J. Kornblith, " 'Cementing the Mechanic Interest': Origins of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers," *JER* 8 (1988) 366.

16. Buckingham, 118.

17. Ibid.; Gary J. Kornblith, "Becoming Joseph T. Buckingham," in Howard Rock, Paul Gilje, and Robert Asher, eds., *American Artisans* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995) 128–132.

18. Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America, from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957) 161–164; Ronald E. Seavoy, *The Origins of the American Business Corporation, 1784–1855* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982) 56–57; Cathy D. Matson, "Capitalizing Hope: Economic Thought and the Early National Economy," *JER* 16 (1996) 284.

19. *Laws of Pennsylvania* (1814) 154.

20. Mathew Carey, "Desultory Reflections Upon the Ruinous Consequences of a Non-Renewal of the Charter of the Bank of the United States" (Washington, D.C., 1810) and "Letters to Dr. Adam Seybert . . . on the Renewal of the Charter of the Bank of the United States" (Philadelphia: Carey, 1811).

21. For a good example of mechanic hostility to banks as the tools of merchants see the piece by "Another Mechanic" in the *Baltimore American* Oct. 5, 1805, p. 2. The author of this piece argued that mechanics have never benefited from banks, except for those few mechanics who have "commenced a mercantile business."

22. Seavoy, 57; *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York, 34th Session* (1811) 6. Tomkins was later president of the American Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Manufactures, as well as vice president of the United States. Michael B. Folsum and Steven D. Lubar, eds., *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982) 199.

23. *Baltimore American* May 22, 1806, p. 2. Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank records, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Del.

24. *Baltimore American* June 3, 1806, p. 2; GSMT minutes, March 28, 1810. In New York seven of the eight mechanics were to be elected. The eighth was the president of the GSMT, who was an ex-officio member. *Laws of New York* Thirty-third Session (1810) 110–115.

25. *Laws of Pennsylvania* (1814) 154. *An Act to Incorporate the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank* (Philadelphia, 1809). The earlier articles of association had stipulated they be "farmers, mechanics, or manufacturers following their trade of occupation." The acts and bylaws are located in the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank papers, Hagley Museum and Library.

26. *Laws of Massachusetts* (Jan. 1814) 388; Buckingham, 130–131.

27. GSMT minutes, March 28, 1810; *Laws of New York* Thirty-third Session (1810) 110–115.

28. GSMT minutes, Feb. 21, 1810.

29. Buckingham, 131.

30. Ibid., 130.

31. *Baltimore American* May 22, 1806, p. 3.

32. Charles G. Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984) 193.

33. Ibid., 194.

34. In Boston mechanics were unable to get extra shares according to Buckingham, 131.

35. GSMT minutes, Dec. 13, 1810, Feb. 6, 1811, and passim; Howard B. Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic* (New York: New York University Press, 1979) 166–169.

36. Steffen, 196.

37. *Baltimore American* May 23, 1806.

38. Ibid., April 27, 1807, p. 4; *Laws of Maryland* (Nov. 1810 Session) chap. 134.

39. Names from *Baltimore American*.

40. Steffen, 43.

41. Baltimore city directory for 1810; J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Turnbull Press, 1874).

42. Scharf, 510; Steffen, 39.

43. Steffen, 199.

44. Scharf, 31, 120, 301, 386.

45. Steffen, 179–187.

46. Ibid., 187–188, 198; Scharf, 120, 281–283.

47. GSMT minutes; Sidney I. Pomerantz, *New York: An American City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938) 264. Furman is listed as a broker in the *New York Directory and Register for the Year* 1789.

48. GSMT minutes; Rock, 66–67.

49. *Aurora* (Philadelphia) Oct. 22, 1808. The Premium Society directors on the committee were as follows: John Goodman, Abraham Small, William Y. Birch, John Dorsey, John Thoburn, Thomas Leiper, and James Ronaldson.

50. J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1884) 3: 2273; Philip Scranton, *Proprietary Capitalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 81; William Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (1893; reprint, New York: A. M. Kelley, 1971) 581–582; *DAB* 9: 2–3.

51. *Aurora* May 29, 1809, p. 2; Oct. 22, 1808, p. 2; Nov. 21, 1808, p. 2.

52. Seybert's oration was first printed in the *Aurora* of May 27, 1809, p. 2, and then reprinted June 19, 1809, p. 2. This account is based on the May 27 version.

53. Scharf and Westcott, 1: 532.

54. Ibid., 3: 2300; *Aurora* June 13, 1808, p. 3; Aug. 20, 1808, p. 3.

55. Charles Robson, *The Manufactories and Manufacturers of Pennsylvania in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1875) 519; Scharf and Westcott, 1: 573; Mathew Carey, *Autobiographical Sketches. In a Series of Letters Addressed to a Friend . . .* (Philadelphia: John Clarke, 1829) 117, 135. See also two letters Ronaldson wrote regarding protecting manufactures in the Robert M. Patterson Collection, APS. On the Harrisburg convention see chapter 10 in this volume.

56. Scharf and Westcott, 3: 1878. Small and Birch wrote John Vaughan of the APS in 1802, offering to donate to the society a set of books. See William Y. Birch and Abraham Small to John Vaughan, April 1, 1802, APS Archives, APS. Birch was also active in the APS, the Pennsylvania Institution for the Care of the Blind, and various other civic-minded groups. After he died his grateful associates had a memorial for him built in Laurel Hill Cemetery. Small also did some printing jobs for the APS. See Small to Vaughan, Oct. 18 and Nov. 1 1822, APS Archives.

57. Scharf and Westcott 1: 521, 532; *Aurora* June 30, 1808; April 3, 1810; Dec. 30, 1813; John S. Dorsey to R. M. Patterson, Dec. 15, 1814, APS Archives.

58. The relevant committee members were Seth Craig (cotton), John Harrison (chemicals), John Long (soap), James Darrach (hatter). Darrach was not on the 1809 committee but was elected to the 1810 committee on the evening of Seybert's oration.

59. Chapter 8 discusses these associations in detail.

60. Emphasis added.

61. Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1980) 211–237; Bruce Sinclair, *Philadelphia's Philosopher Mechanics: A History of the Franklin Institute, 1824–1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

62. James Mease, *The Picture of Philadelphia, Giving an Account of its Origin, Increase and Improvements in Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, Commerce and Revenue* (Philadelphia, 1811) 74; emphasis added. Mease was elected to the planning committee for the Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Dinner the night Seybert gave his oration.

63. For an illuminating discussion of early Philadelphia manufacturing that demonstrates the manufacturers' dependence on skilled mechanics and the tensions between the two groups see Cynthia Shelton, *The Mills of Manayunk* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986) 7–25.

64. For a more thorough study of this development see Walter Jennings, *The American Embargo 1807–1809, with Particular Reference to Its Effect on Industry* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1929).

65. Bishop, 2: 138; Meyer H. Fishbein, "The Census of Manufactures, 1810–1890," Reference Information Paper no. 50 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1973) 2.

66. Albert Gallatin, "Manufactures. Communicated to the House of Representatives, April 19, 1810" in *NASP* 1: 124–130.

67. Carroll D. Wright, *History and Growth of the United Sates Census* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900) 21–22. Fishbein, 2–3; [Meyer Fishbein], "Early Business Statistical Operations in the Federal Government," Reference Information Paper no. 51 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1973) 7–8; Bishop, 2: 159; *Aurora* June 27, 1810, p. 2; *Columbian Centinel* (Boston) July 18, 1810, p. 2. Quote from Wright, 22.

68. "Early Business Statistical Operations," 8; Fishbein, "Census of Manufactures," 3; *Niles' Weekly Register* Dec. 21, 1811, pp. 291–292.

69. The pseudonym no doubt was a misspelled reference to Louis XVI's finance minister, Jacques Necker, whose infamous report on public finances allegedly misled his king's administration and the public.

70. *Aurora*, June 30, 1810, p. 2; *Baltimore American*, Feb. 18, 1811, p. 3.

71. Tench Coxe, "Digest of Manufactures. Communicated to the Senate on the 5th

of January, 1814" in *NASP* 1: 160–410; quote from p. 160. *Niles' Weekly Register* Aug. 6, 1814, 395–396; Fishbein, "Census of Manufactures," 5–8.

72. See especially "Neckar" and Seybert's criticism. It is possible that Neckar actually was Seybert, as both lived in or near Philadelphia and both made similar criticisms.

73. Coxe, "Digest of Manufactures," 6. For the original schedule see *The Seventh Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853) x.

74. Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (1874–1877; reprint, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1969) 5: 133–134.

75. Fishbein, "Census of Manufactures," 9–11.

76. From Adams' instructions, reprinted in Wright, 135, and U.S. Census Office, *Census of 1820* (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1821).

77. See, for example, the return of Philadelphia lamp maker John Leadbetter, who reported employing "3 boys" and "2 men" in 1820, but went on to explain that he had previously employed "5 journeymen and 3 apprentices." He seems to have equated "boys" with apprentices and "men" with journeymen. This was much different from the return of the nearby Globe Mills, which reported having "71 men," "35 women," and "95 boys and girls." Clearly this mill was not using the apprentice system. See 1820 Census of Manufactures, Returns for the Eastern Pennsylvania District, 526–527, 600.

EIGHT: Promoting Manufacturing in the New Century

1. "Mr. Saltonstall's Address," *Transactions of the Essex Agricultural Society* 3, no. 4 (1843) 4.

2. Philip Scranton, *Proprietary Capitalism: The Textile Manufacture at Philadelphia, 1800–1885* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983). See also Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale* (New York: Knopf, 1980); David Richard Kasserman, "Conservative Innovation: Introduction of the Cotton Industry into the United States, 1789–1840" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1974).

3. Robert F. Dalzell Jr., *Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World they Made* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987); Caroline F. Ware, *The Early New England Cotton Manufacture: A Study in Industrial Beginnings* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931) 60–118; Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979) 14–22.

4. There was no general incorporation act for manufacturing firms in Pennsylvania until 1849, forty years after such an act had been passed in Massachusetts. On the relative absence of business corporations in Pennsylvania see Louis Hartz, *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought: Pennsylvania, 1776–1860* (1948; reprint, Chicago: Quadrangle, 1968) 37–81. Hartz also sees an egalitarian "anti-charter" ideology (largely a Republican phenomenon) as a factor.

5. Tench Coxe, *A Communication from the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts* (Philadelphia: Samuel Akerman, 1804).

6. J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1884) 1: 531; *Aurora* (Philadelphia) April 8, 1808, p. 3; May 9, 1808, p. 1, 2; June 13, 1808, p. 3.

7. *Aurora* Jan. 29, 1808, p. 2; Scharf and Westcott, 1: 524.

8. "Constitution of the Philadelphia Society, for the Encouragement of Domestic

Manufactures" (Philadelphia: D. Hogan, 1806); Scharf and Westcott, 1: 528 mistakenly locate the warehouse on *North* Third Street.

9. *Aurora* March 14, 1808, p. 3.

10. Ibid., June 30, 1808, p. 2. The overlapping directors were John Dorsey, John Goodman, Samuel Smith, William Y. Birch, and Samuel Carswell.

11. Ibid., July 26, 1808, p. 2; March 24, 1809, p. 2; March 4, 1809, p. 2; Scharf and Westcott, 1: 531–532.

12. See chapter 7.

13. *Aurora* Oct. 22, 1808. The Premium Society directors on the committee were as follows: John Goodman, Abraham Small, William Y. Birch, John Dorsey, John Thoburn, Thomas Leiper, and James Ronaldson.

14. I was able to identify fifty-six men who filled seventy-two directorships. Sixteen of seventy-two (22 percent) sat on two boards, and five of seventy-two (7 percent) sat on three.

15. Scharf and Westcott, 1: 571. For occupational information see the Philadelphia city directories.

16. Ibid., 1: 532; *Aurora* April 3, 1810; Dec. 30, 1813; John S. Dorsey to R. M. Patterson, Dec. 15, 1814 in APS Archives, APS.

17. Scharf and Westcott, 3: 1878.

18. *Baltimore American* Jan. 1, 1808, p. 3; Jan. 4, 1808, p. 3; Jan. 9, 1808, p. 3; Jan. 27, 1808, pp. 2–3. Richard W. Griffin, "An Origin of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland: The Textile Industry, 1789–1826," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 61 (1966) 26–27. William Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (1893; reprint, New York: A. M. Kelley) 490–491. Eventually the project was built on the Patapsco, not the Jones Falls.

19. *Baltimore American* Feb. 19, 1808, p. 3; Feb. 20, 1808, p. 3; Feb. 29, 1808, p. 3; March 7, 1808, p. 3. Bagnall, 491–492.

20. *Baltimore American* Feb. 20, 1808, p. 3; April 7, 1808, p. 2. The exact voting scheme was as follows: one to two shares, one vote per share; two to ten shares, two votes per share; for ten to thirty shares, one vote per four shares; for thirty to sixty shares, one vote per six shares; for sixty to one hundred shares, one vote for eight shares; one vote for every ten shares above one hundred.

21. The name of this organization was also sometimes spelled "Athenian" or "Athaenian."

22. *Baltimore American* Dec. 16, 1808, p. 3; Feb. 13, 1809, p. 1; Jan. 21, 1811, p. 4. *Niles' Weekly Register*; Feb. 22, 1812, p. 461; Feb. 21, 1813, p. 395; *Laws of Maryland* (Nov. 1810) chap. 115.

23. *Baltimore American* March 6, 1809, p. 3; April 24, 1809, p. 3.

24. Ibid., March 22, 1811, p. 2; *Niles' Weekly Register* Feb. 22, 1812, pp. 262–263.

25. *Baltimore American* Aug. 4, 1809, p. 2. There is no evidence that this dinner or a semiannual affair proposed the previous year, was ever held. On the earlier proposal see Walter W. Jennings, *The American Embargo, 1807–1809* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1929) 176.

26. *Baltimore American* Aug. 12, 1809, p. 2; Aug. 17, 1809, p. 3; Aug. 25, 1809, p. 3; Aug. 28, 1809, p. 2; June 5, 1810, p. 2; Griffin, 29–30.

27. Members' names were found in the following sources. Union Manufacturing Company: directors, 1808 incorporation (Maryland session law); subscription committee, *Baltimore American* Feb. 20, 1808. Athenean Society: subscription committee, ibid., Dec.

16, 1808, p. 3; directors, *Niles' Weekly Register* Feb. 22, 1812, p. 463; Feb. 21. 1813, p. 395; July 3, 1813, p. 295. Domestic Manufacturing Association: subscription committee, *Baltimore American* Aug. 25, 1809, p. 3; constitutional committee, ibid., Aug. 17, 1809.

28. William Patterson Collection, MHS, contains a few receipts relating to the brewery. Patterson died in 1827, leaving a very large estate.

29. Richard and Jonathan Sayer to John McKim and Co., Sept. 9, 1799, in the McKim Collection, MHS. Robert's kinsman John, was also a director of the Union Manufacturing Co.

30. *Baltimore American* April 18, 1808, p. 1; Bagnall, 489. Two of Burneston's business books, located in the Burneston and Warfield Bank Book and the Israel Papers of the MHS, show a wide-ranging mercantile business but no evidence of earlier manufacturing activity.

31. Mosher belonged to the Athenean Society and the Domestic Society. Warner, Raborg, and Steuart all belonged to the Union Manufacturing Co. and the Domestic Society.

32. Eventually domestic warehouses did emerge in Boston and New York after 1812, but unlike Philadelphia's Domestic Society and Baltimore's Athenean Society, these organizations appear to have been marketing devices used by individual merchants hoping to move more domestic-made goods. See *New York Evening Post* Jan. 2, 1813, p. 3, and *Columbian Centinel* (Boston) Aug. 6, 1814, p. 4.

33. *New York Evening Post* Dec. 29, 1810, p. 2.

34. The four firms were the Susquehanna Coal Co., the Mining, Smelting and Refining Co., the North American Coal Co., and the New York Coal Co.

35. *Laws of New York* Thirty-second Session (1809) 88.

36. *Laws of New York* Thirty-fifth Session (1812) 315–321; *New York Evening Post* July 16, 1812, p. 1; Dec. 4, 1813, p. 3; Dec. 11, 1813, p. 3; *Columbian Centinel* March 3, 1813, p. 1; *Niles' Weekly Register* Sept. 5, 1813, pp. 9–10; J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860* (Philadelphia: Edward Young, 1864) 2: 187.

37. Brothers John and Alexander, and their kinsman Robert were involved in a large number of the city's manufacturing projects in these years. Robert had served as president of the Union Manufacturing Company at one point. In addition, John was a director of the Powhatan Manufacturing Company, and Robert and Alexander established an unincorporated textile factory in 1814. J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Turnbull Press, 1874) 302; *Baltimore American* April 14, 1814, p. 3.

38. *Niles' Weekly Register* April 23, 1814, pp. 125–126; McKim to E. I. du Pont, April 16, 1814, Winterthur Manuscripts, Papers of E. I. du Pont, Series A, Correspondence, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Del.

39. I identified directors from the incorporation acts in state session laws and checked them against city directories and other sources. Names of the directors of four New York firms incorporated under the 1811 statute were not available.

40. *Laws of Massachusetts* (1809) 18; Joseph T. Buckingham, *Annals of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association* (Boston: Croker and Brewster, 1853) 25–27. Gore was a Boston-born painter who had been a whig mechanic during the Revolution, and his younger brother, Christopher, was the current state governor. Hunnewell was a well-to-do mason and an active politician who, over the course of his career, served as a selectman, a state representative, and state senator. Both experienced serious financial setbacks when the project went bankrupt in 1822.

41. *Laws of Massachusetts* (1810) 97; *Columbian Centinel* June 10, 1809, p. 2; March 10, 1810, p. 3; July 7, 1810, p. 3.

42. Shares in the Union Manufacturing Co. and the Philadelphia Manufacturing Society were $50 each; Athenean Society stock was priced at $20 per share.

43. Dalzell, 27.

44. Ibid., 31–32.

45. On agricultural problems during these years see Paul W. Gates, *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815–1860* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960) 1–50.

46. Olive Moore Gambrill, "John Beale Bordley and the Early Years of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society," *PMHB* 66 (Oct. 1942) 415; *Minutes of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture* (Philadelphia: J. C. Clark, 1854) April 9, 1805; May 14, 1805.

47. "Address of the Linnaean Society," *Archives of Useful Knowledge* 1 (1810) 215–219.

48. *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York* Thirty-first Session (1808) 8.

49. *Minutes of the PSPA* 1805–1810; PSPA Correspondence, Special Collections, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania; Longwood Manuscripts, Series A, Personal Correspondence of E. I. du Pont, Hagley Museum and Library.

50. The five, listed in *Minutes of the PSPA*, p. 79, were James Mease, John Dorsey, Francis Gurney, Godfrey Hage, and Thomas Leiper. Gurney and Haga were active in the manufacturing committee of Tench Coxe's Society for Encouraging Manufactures. Leiper, a tobacconist, had been active in manufacturing circles since the 1785 protectionist movement. On Beck and Caldwell see ibid., June 11, 1805 and April 14, 1807; Scharf and Westcott, 3: 2217. The Caldwell and Mease families had once been mercantile partners involved in procuring provisions during the Revolution.

51. *Minutes of the PSPA*, May 13, 1806; Aug. 11, 1807; Oct. 13, 1807; Jan. 12, 1808; Jan. 16, 1808; Feb. 14, 1809; quote from Sept. 9, 1806. *DAB* 5: 9–10.

52. Caroll W. Pursell Jr., "E. I. du Pont, Don Pedro, and the Introduction of Merino Sheep into the United States, 1801: A Document" (Unpublished Hagley Museum and Library Research Report, 1958); "Observations on Sheep" *Archives of Useful Knowledge* 1 (1810) 66–125; Frank Landon Humphreys, *The Life and Times of David Humphreys* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917) 2: 335–339; "Letter from R. R. Livingston, Esq.," *Archives of Useful Knowledge* 1 (1810) 17–19.

53. David Humphreys, *The Miscellaneous Works of David Humphreys* (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1804) 343–358. Quotes are from the manuscript copy in the Eluethera Bradford du Pont Collection, File 20, Hagley Museum and Library.

54. *Aurora* Nov. 21, 1808, p. 2; *Papers on Agriculture Consisting of Communications to the Massachusetts Agricultural Society* (1809) 59–63; *Aurora* March 4, 1809, p. 2; William Thornton to E. I. du Pont, March 29, 1810, Longwood Manuscripts.

55. "Merino mania" was a contemporary term. See *Antidote to the Merino Mania now Progressing in the United States* (Philadelphia: J. and A. Y. Humphreys, 1810). On du Pont's sales see his eight-page account with William Young dated Sept. 26, 1814, in Longwood Manuscripts.

56. "The Constitution of the Merino Society of the Middle States of North America" (Philadelphia, 1812); For du Pont's correspondence see the Longwood Manuscripts.

57. F. L. Humphreys, 2: 359–360; *New York Evening Post* Sept. 27, 1808, p. 2.

58. "Acte d'Association pour une manufacture de Draps . . . ," E. B. du Pont Collection, Hagley Museum and Library; Testimony of E. I. du Pont in *Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Committee on Manufactures, First Session of the Twentieth Congress* (Washington, D.C., 1820) 122–125.

59. *DAB* 10: 541–542; Elkanah Watson, *History of the Rise, Progress, and Existing State of the Berkshire Agricultural Society* (Albany, 1819) 29–39.

60. Stuart Bruchey, *Enterprise: The Dynamic Economy of a Free People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990) 175–176.

61. Watson, *History of the Berkshire Agricultural Society*, 33–39, quote from p. 38; Elkanah Watson, *The Rise, Progress and Existing State of Modern Agricultural Societies* (Albany, 1820) 14, 162–163.

62. Watson, *History of the Berkshire Agricultural Society*, 16–17, 43–50; quote from p. 43. The Pennsylvania Cattle Society had pioneered the public cattle show in 1809, two years before Watson founded the Berkshire society, but these shows appear to have been aimed more at gentlemen farmers with the means to buy exotic livestock such as merinos rather than at ordinary farmers and their families.

63. *Archives of Useful Knowledge* 1 (1810) 49; "The Memorial of the Maryland Agricultural Society to the General Assembly of Maryland, Jan., 1826" (Annapolis, 1826) 3.

64. "Observations on Sheep and Wool," *Archives of Useful Knowledge* 2 (1811) 243–249; Robert R. Livingston, "On the Encouragement given to the Manufactory of Fine Cloth, by the Legislature of New York," *Archives of Useful Knowledge* 1 (1810) 17–19.

65. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Wheels, Looms, and the Gender Division of Labor in Eighteenth-Century New England," *WMQ* 55 (1998) 3–38; Adrienne D. Hood, "The Gender Division of Labor in the Production of Textiles in Eighteenth-Century Rural Pennsylvania (Rethinking the New England Model)," *Journal of Social History* 27 (Spring 1994) 537–561.

66. Broadside advertisement for October 1819 "Berkshire Cattle Show, Exhibition of Manufactures and Fair" in PSPA Correspondence; Watson, *History of the Berkshire Agricultural Society*, 19–24.

67. Rolla M. Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917) 242–302.

68. Ulrich, 20.

69. *Transactions of the Albany Institute* 4 (1858–1864) 116–123; *Laws of New York* Thirty-fifth Session (1812) 456–461. The list of prizewinners includes a number of individuals for whom only first initials are given. Some could possibly have been women.

70. Pursell, 99; F. L. Humphreys; Watson, *Rise, Progress, and Existing State of Modern Agricultural Societies.*

71. Mathew Carey, "Address Delivered Before the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture" (Philadelphia: Joseph Skerrett, 1824).

72. On "state mercantilism" generally see James A. Henretta and Gregory H. Nobles, *Evolution and Revolution: American Society, 1600–1820* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1987) 207–211; Harry N. Scheiber, "Government and the Economy: Studies of the 'Commonwealth' Policy in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3 (1972) 135–151; Carter Goodrich, *Government Promotion of American Canals and Railroads, 1800–1890* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960). State studies include Oscar Handlin and Mary Flug Handlin, *Commonwealth*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969); Louis Hartz, *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought: Pennsylvania, 1776–1860* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948); Beatrice G. Reubens, "State Financing of Private Enterprise in Early New York" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1960); Ronald E. Seavoy, *The Origins of the American Business Corporation, 1784–1855: Broadening the Concept of Public Service During Industrialization* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982) 53–80;

Nathan Miller, *The Enterprise of a Free People: Aspects of Economic Development in New York State during the Canal Period, 1792–1838* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962); Harry N. Scheiber, *Ohio Canal Era: A Case Study of Government and the Economy, 1820–1861* (Athens: University of Ohio Press, 1969).

73. Handlin and Handlin, 29–31; William J. Novak, *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996) 9–10.

74. *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York* Thirty-fourth Session (1811) 6.

75. For example, the Columbia Manufacturing Society, the Albany Manufacturing Society, the Milton Manufacturing Society, and others. One-third (nine of twenty-seven) of the manufacturing companies chartered in 1809–10 in New York were "societies." By contrast, only one of eleven manufacturing companies incorporated in 1815 was a "society." Based on Aron Clark, *A List of all the Incorporations in the State of New York* (Albany: Jesse Buel, 1819) and New York session law.

76. *Laws of Maryland* (Dec. 1813) chap. 45; *Laws of New York* Thirty-second Session (1809) 78. For other Maryland corporations with preambles stressing their public benefit see the Union Manufacturing Company and the Caroline Manufacturing Co. In New York see the Albany Manufacturing Co., the Woodstock Glass Manufacturing Co., the Utica Glass Manufacturing Co., and many others.

77. *Laws of New York* Thirty-third Session (1810). The charter for the Geneva Glass Manufacturing Company copied this language word for word. For a similar public interest argument see the 1810 charter of the New York Home Manufacturing Company. Other Empire State charters making similar arguments include those of the Columbia Manufacturing Co., the Galen Salt Co., and the Rensselaer Woolen Co.

78. *Laws of Maryland* (Nov. 1808) chap. 49; ibid. (Nov. 1809).

79. Reubens, 274.

80. Hartz, 83–85.

81. Handlin and Handlin, 51–105. Hartz's sunny view of state-corporation cooperation is now being reassessed. See Andrew M. Schocket, "Consolidating Power: Technology, Ideology, and Philadelphia's Growth in the Early Republic" (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 2001) 230–288, which argues that state "contributions" often served as unwelcome taxes on corporations.

82. *Minutes of the PSPA* Dec. 8, 1807; *Laws of Pennsylvania* (Dec. 1808) chap. 13.

83. Watson, *History of the Berkshire Agricultural Society*, 73–78, and *Rise, Progress and Existing State of Modern Agricultural Societies*, 162–163; *Laws of Massachusetts* (January Session 1811) chap. 49; *Laws of New York* Forty-second Session (1819) chap. 107; *Laws of Pennsylvania* (Dec. 1819) chaps. 12, 51.

84. *Laws of Pennsylvania* (1808) chaps. 1, 46; DAB, 12: 486.

85. *Laws of New York* Thirty-second Session (1808) chap. 164; Thirty-third Session (1810) chap. 157; Thirty-fourth Session (1811) chap. 246; Thirty-fifth Session (1812) chap. 230; Reubens, 274; "Account of the Premiums Awarded by Law in the State of New York for the Encouragement of Household Manufactures of Woolen Cloth . . . ," in *Transactions of the Albany Institute* 4 (1858–1864) 113–124.

86. Reubens, 185–221, 274; Seavoy, 16–17, 62; *New York Assembly Documents* (1835) 1: 27–29.

87. Hartz, 56; Handlin and Handlin, 78–79.

88. Oscar Handlin and Mary F. Handlin, "Origins of the American Business Corpo-

ration," *The Journal of Economic History* 5 (May 1945) 1–23, and *Commonwealth*, 106–160; Pauline Maier, "The Revolutionary Origins of the American Corporation," *WMQ* 50 (1993) 51–84. Here, too, Schocket is skeptical, noting that in such situations states often played the role of overbearing "rich uncle." See Schocket, 245–246.

89. *Laws of Massachusetts* (1809) 464–467; Handlin and Handlin, *Commonwealth* 127; Edwin Merrick Dodd, *American Business Corporations until 1860, with Special Reference to Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954) 228–231; *Aurora* April 7, 1814, p. 2.

90. *Laws of New York* Thirty-fourth Session (1811) 111–114; *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York* Thirty-fourth Session (1811) 6; Seavoy, 66; W. C. Kessler, "A Statistical Study of the New York General Incorporation Act of 1811," *Journal of Political Economics* 48 (1940) 877–880; Clark, 42–53. Kessler, 879, found one less corporation under the general act and nine fewer under special acts, for a total of 136. The returns for New York in the "Report of the Secretary of State of Such Articles Manufactured in the United States As would be Liable to Duties . . . With a Schedule of Factories Incorporated by State Laws, from 1800 to 1820, Inclusive," in *NASP* 2: 68–77 show 145 manufacturing firms incorporated in this period. I have stuck to Clark's list because it is more detailed than Kessler, and more contemporary with the time period under consideration than the secretary of state's report. George H. Evans Jr., *Business Incorporations in the United States, 1800–1943* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1948) 20. In previous years manufacturing companies had never made up as much as 10 percent of the total number of incorporations granted by the state, but in the period from 1810 to 1819 they made up 43 percent of all incorporations.

91. Joseph G. Blandi, *Maryland Business Corporations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1934) 314; "List of Acts of Incorporation" in *Pennsylvania Journal of State Convention 1837–1838*, 372–418.

92. Undated petition "To the Senate and House of Representatives" in McAllister Collection, HSP; Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank Historical Records, Hagley Museum and Library.

93. On Clay see Jacob Cooke, *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978) 346, 441.

94. Sharswood to Joseph Tagert, March 13, 1807; Clay to Tagert, Jan. 23, 1809, through March 8, 1809; all in Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank Historical Records. Schocket, 237–238. On the history of bank gratuities in Pennsylvania see Hartz, 54–56.

95. *Laws of New York* Thirty-fifth Session (1812) 315; *New York Evening Post* July 6, 1812, p. 1; *Niles' Weekly Register* Sept. 5, 1813, 9–10.

96. *New York Evening Post* Dec. 4, 1813, p. 3; *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York* Thirty-eighth Session (1814) 396, 487–488.

NINE: Political Parties and Manufactures

1. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, in Merrill D. Peterson, ed., *The Portable Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Viking, 1975) 217.

2. Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980) 136–145; Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1788–1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) 375–388.

3. *Boston Gazette* Feb. 2, 1794, p. 2; Feb. 7, 1794, p. 3; March 3, 1794, p. 2; March 7, 1794, p. 2.

4. Alfred Young, "The Mechanics and the Jeffersonians," *Labor History* 5 (1964) 256; *The Diary* (New York) Feb. 27, 1794, p. 2; March 4, 1794, p. 3; March 6, 1794, p. 2. Gilbert had served as a Federalist alderman as recently as 1793, but he was a leader of these Republican meetings, suggesting that the discrimination issue had pushed him out of the Federalist camp. On Gilbert's previous political experience see Alfred Young, *The Democratic-Republicans of New York* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967) 250 n. 24.

5. Roland M. Baumann, "John Swanwick: Spokesman for 'Merchant Republicanism' in Philadelphia, 1790–1798," *PMHB* 97 (1973) 160–161. The hatters' petition was considered in Boston in February. It and similar petitions from New York, Delaware, and Virginia were rejected by Congress in March. See *Boston Gazette* Feb. 24, 1794, p. 4; *NASP* 1: 72.

6. Roland M. Baumann, "Philadelphia Manufacturers and the Excise Taxes of 1794: The Forging of the Jeffersonian Coalition," *PMHB* 106 (1982) 3–39.

7. *New York Daily Advertiser* Jan. 3, 1793; Ronald Schultz, *The Republic of Labor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) 124.

8. Joyce Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order* (New York: New York University Press, 1984) 51–78; David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) 131–133; Richard Buell Jr., *Securing the Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972) 97–105, Baumann, "Philadelphia Manufacturers," 21–22.

9. *Baltimore Federal Gazette* April 22, 1796, p. 2; April 23, 1796, p. 3; April 25, 1796, p. 2; Charles G. Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984) 152–154.

10. Jacob E. Cooke, *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978) 190–191, 217–231, 274–292; Harold Hutcheson, *Tench Coxe: A Study in American Economic Development* (1938; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1969) 28–36. Jefferson quickly lost patience with Coxe, but the purveyor was able to maintain better relations with Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin.

11. Edward C. Carter II, "The Political Activities of Mathew Carey, Nationalist, 1760–1840" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1962) 131, 143–144, 197–198, 207–220. Carey's "Hamilton" essays were published in 1822–1826, cf. Mathew Carey, *Pamphlets and Papers* (Philadelphia: Joseph Skerrett, 1826) 6: 215 and following. Most were published originally in the *National Intelligencer*. On "merchant-republicans" see Schultz, 183–184, and Baumann, "John Swanwick."

12. Gary J. Kornblith, " 'Cementing the Mechanic Interest': Origins of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers," *JER* 8 (1988) 386–387, "From Artisans to Businessmen: Master Mechanics in New England, 1789–1850" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1983) 81–82, 108–110, and "Artisan Federalism: New England Mechanics and the Political Economy of the 1790s," in Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, ed., *Launching the "Extended Republic"* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996) 249–272; Joseph T. Buckingham, *Annals of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1853) 126–127.

13. I base this on my analysis of leaders of the Union Manufacturing Company, the Athenean Society, and the Maryland Association for the Encouragement of Domestic Manufactures. Sixteen of these men had identifiable political leanings. Thirteen were Republicans and three Federalists.

14. Six other directors had no identifiable political leanings. The directors' names are printed in the *Baltimore American* Feb. 20, 1808. Political affiliations were identified using Whitman H. Ridgway, *Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790–1840: A Comparative Analysis of Power in Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979) appendix tables A 3.1–A 3.4.

15. Andrew Shankman, "Democracy in Pennsylvania: Political, Social and Economic Arguments in the Jeffersonian Party, 1790–1820" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1997); Sanford W. Higginbotham, *The Keystone in the Democratic Arch: Pennsylvania Politics 1800–1816* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952); *United States Gazette* (Philadelphia) July 27, 1808, p. 3. The quote is from John Melish, cited in David Hackett Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York: Harper, 1965) 207–208. Members of the city's Republican-dominated pro-manufacturing network split among the three factions. For example, John Dorsey and Thomas Leiper from the Duane-Leib group; Coxe, Carey and Samuel Wetherhill from the Quids; and Adam Seybert from the Snyderites.

16. Seybert invested in the Globe Mills. On his career and investments see Philip Scranton, *Proprietary Capitalism: The Textile Manufacture at Philadelphia, 1800–1885* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 81; J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1884) 3: 2273.

17. *Columbian Centinel* (Boston) Jan. 20, 1810, p. 2. On Potter's career see Fischer, 284.

18. *New York Evening Post* April 27, 1808, p. 3; *Columbian Centinel* March 16, 1808, p. 1; emphasis added. For similar statements see ibid., April 2, 1808, p. 2, March 27, 1811, p. 1; *Baltimore Federal Gazette* April 11, 1808, p. 3. See too the New York Federal Republican meeting of April 18, 1808, where it was resolved that "during the Federal administration, agriculture, commerce and manufactures were protected and flourished"; *New York Evening Post* April 19, 1808, p. 2.

19. *Columbian Centinel* April 2, 1808, p. 2; *Baltimore Federal Gazette* Aug. 30, 1808, p. 2; *Charleston Courier* Aug. 31, 1808, p. 3. See too the approving reference to the French merchants' legendary response to Colbert that he might best promote their economic interest "by letting us alone" and the reference to Federalists as "friends of independence and free trade" in *Baltimore Federal Gazette* Nov. 3, 1808, p. 3, and *United States Gazette* May 9, 1808, p. 3.

20. *New York Evening Post* Nov. 2, 1810, p. 3; *Columbian Centinel* Dec. 22, 1813, p. 1. The phrases "visionary maxims" and "utopian measures" were used to describe Republican policy in the *Evening Post* April 19, 1808, p. 2, and *Columbian Centinel*, June 10, 1809, p. 2. A Philadelphia writer referred derisively to Jefferson as "our system making president" and a Boston blacksmith called the embargo "the mysterious, unexampled, incomprehensible, philosophic scheme." *United States Gazette* Dec. 2, 1808, p. 4; *Columbian Centinel*, June 10, 1809, p. 2. Clearly these Federalists were seeking to portray Jefferson as a pseudophilosophe bringing in dangerous, impractical, and probably French ideas to muck up the economy.

21. The *Newport Mercury* is a good example.

22. Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America during the Administration of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1930) 4: 249–271.

23. *Salem Gazette* Aug. 2, 1808, p. 3. See too *Charleston Courier* May 26, 1808, p. 3; *Connecticut Journal* Sept. 1, 1808, p. 3.

24. *Baltimore Federal Gazette* April 1, 1808, p. 3; May 28, 1808, p. 3; *New York Evening*

Post July 12, 1808, p. 2; *United States Gazette* April 11, 1808, p. 3; *Columbian Centinel* Nov. 8, 1809, p. 3; Jan. 20, 1810, p. 2.

25. *Columbian Centinel* March 28, 1812, p. 2; July 25, 1812, p. 2. On the Hartford convention see Fischer, 176–179; James Banner, *To the Hartford Convention: The Federalists and the Origins of Party Politics in Massachusetts, 1789–1815* (New York: Knopf, 1970) 294–350.

26. *United States Gazette* April 14, 1808, p. 3; *Baltimore Federal Gazette* March 5, 1808, p. 2; June 7, 1808, p. 3; *Columbian Centinel* Dec. 22, 1813, p. 2; Dec. 29, 1813, p. 1. For the full text of the Tammany letter see Peterson, ed., 328–329.

27. *United States Gazette* Aug. 17, 1814, p. 2.

28. *New York Evening Post* July 12, 1808, p. 2; *Columbian Centinel* Nov. 18, 1809, p. 2; *United States Gazette* April 11, 1808, p. 3, Nov. 11, 1808, p. 1. The *United States Gazette* commonly referred to the *Aurora* as "Bonaparte's paper."

29. *Columbian Centinel* April 4, 1812, p. 2; March 6, 1808, p. 1; March 31, 1810, p. 1.

30. Ibid., May 27, 1812, p. 2; July 9, 1814, p. 1; Dec. 29, 1813, pp. 1–2; *New York Evening Post* May 4, 1808, p. 2; April 24, 1810, p. 2. See also *Columbian Centinel* April 2, 1808, p. 2; Feb. 3, 1810, p. 1; *New York Evening Post*, July 20, 1808, p. 3; April 14, 1812, p. 2.

31. *Baltimore Federal Gazette* March 5, 1808, p. 2.

32. *Columbian Centinel* Dec. 25, 1813, p. 1; *New York Evening Post* July 16, 1810, p. 2. See also *Evening Post* Aug. 29, 1810, which reprinted an antimanufacturing speech by John Randolph (which also no doubt was seen as an example of the Republican flip-flop on the issue) and *Columbian Centinel* Oct. 5, 1811, p. 1.

33. Schultz, 150–164, 181–191.

34. *Aurora* July 26, 1810, p. 2; Feb. 24, 1814, p. 2; Jan. 7, 1812, p. 2; Dec. 30, 1813, p. 2. For other pro-manufacturing pieces see ibid., April 1, 1809, p. 2; May 29, 1810, p. 2; Aug. 1, 1811, p. 2; April 1, 1812, p. 2; Nov. 12, 1813, p. 2.

35. *Niles' Weekly Register* Sept. 7, 1811 p. 3; Nov. 20, 1813, p. 207; emphasis in original. In addition to numerous pro-manufacturing articles, the *Register* also printed Hamilton's entire *Report on Manufacturing* throughout October and November of 1813.

36. *Aurora* July 4, 1808, p. 3; Oct. 28, 1808, p. 2. For another interesting set of articles on this general issue see ibid., Jan. 29, 1808, which contains two pieces implying that British agents were attempting to destroy the Domestic Society.

37. *Baltimore American* March 22, 1808, pp. 2–3. This piece was reprinted from the *Philadelphia Democratic Press*, a Republican paper published by John Binns with William Duane's support. See Scharf and Westcott, 3: 1982–1983; Schultz, 194.

38. *Aurora* May 18, 1809.

39. *Baltimore American* June 31, 1809, p. 2; Oct. 29, 1810, p. 3. Although not explicitly blaming English agents for the Anderson-Gawthmy fire, the editors reported that the fire was extremely suspicious, a neighbor had seen a man run furtively from the premises just before the blaze was discovered, and the "magnificent" factory had been widely praised as a public good. In the general climate of suspicion, these facts would have led many to surmise that the mystery man had been an English incendiary.

40. Quoted in *Columbian Centinel* Oct. 10, 1810, p. 1. The Federalist *Centinel* deemed this report "a specimen of the thousand infamous lies which the Democratic papers, in the interest of Bonaparte, are continually circulating."

41. *Aurora* June 17, 1809, p. 2.

42. On proprietary capitalism see chapter 8.

43. Quote from *Baltimore American* March 4, 1808, p. 2. For other support of this proj-

ect see ibid., Dec. 31, 1807, p. 2; Feb. 19, 1808, p. 3. The *Aurora* Feb. 19, 1808, p. 2 also praised the project, repeating the *American*'s assurances that the wide distribution of stock would prevent it from becoming a monopoly.

44. On Cheetham see Howard B. Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: New York University Press, 1979) 49–50; Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984) 79. On the Clintonites see Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1919) 57–83. Fox also calls the Clintonites "Jeffersonians," a confusing term in the context of 1808. On Old School–New School division in Philadelphia see Schultz, 183–191.

45. *American Citizen* July 29, 1808, p. 2; Aug. 16, 1808, p. 2; Aug. 15, 1808, p. 2.

46. Ibid., Feb. 1, 1809, p. 2; Rock, 199–200.

47. *New York Public Advertiser* Feb. 4, 1809, p. 2; Rock, 200. For pro-manufacturing articles see *Public Advertiser* Feb. 27, 1808, p. 2; April 2, 1808, p. 2; August 4, 1810, p. 2; Sept. 27, 1810, p. 2. Another was reprinted in the *Aurora* Aug. 1, 1811, p. 2.

48. Rock, 197–199.

49. *Independent Chronicle* March 7, 1808, p. 2; July 21, 1808, p. 3; Feb. 1, 1810, p. 2.

50. Ibid., March 28, 1814, p. 1; Nov. 7, 1808, p. 2; March 25, 1811, p. 2.

51. Ibid., May 9, 1808, p. 2; May 10, 1810, p. 2; April 1, 1811, p. 2; Aug. 15, 1811, p. 2.

52. Ibid., Aug. 9, 1810, p. 2.

53. *Aurora* April 1, 1809, p. 2. For Smith's use of the term see book II, chapter 3 of *The Wealth of Nations*, which is entitled "Of The Accumulation of Capital, Or Of Productive and Unproductive Labor." Referring to the physiocrats, Smith notes that "Some French authors of great learning and ingenuity have used these words in a different sense." His criticism of the physiocrats, elaborated in book IV, chapter 9, is primarily that they undervalue manufacturing in their efforts to overcorrect for Colbert's mischief.

54. Gianni Vaggi, *The Economics of François Quesnay* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1987) 49–53 and passim; James J. McLain, *The Economic Writings of Du Pont de Nemours* (Wilmington: University of Delaware Press, 1977) 25–34.

55. He approved of duc de Sully's call for encouraging the woolen industry, according to Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *The Origins of Physiocracy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976) 122.

56. Darwin H. Stapleton, *The Transfer of Early Industrial Technologies to America* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1987) 72; *Guide to Longwood Manuscripts* (Wilmington, Del.: Hagley Museum and Library, n.d.) 21.

57. Stapleton, 72–80. Apparently it was the younger du Pont's interest in science rather than any fascination with gunpowder making per se that prompted his father to get him this appointment

58. Ibid., 81–82. E. I. du Pont may also have written pamphlets on the making of saltpeter at this time.

59. Ibid., 82–84; McLain, 44–48.

60. See the Acte d'Association pour une Manufacture de Draps (Act of Association for a textile manufactory) in E. B. du Pont Files, Hagley Museum and Library. This document, produced in 1813, revises the terms of the association, which it states was originally founded June 19, 1810. The partners were E. I. du Pont, Victor du Pont, and Peter Bauduy.

61. E. I. du Pont to Alexander McKim, Feb. 17, 1814, Longwood Manuscripts, Series A, Personal Correspondence of E. I. du Pont, Hagley Museum and Library.

62. E. I. du Pont to Isaac Briggs, Dec. 30, 1815, Longwood Manuscripts. Strikingly, he also linked agriculture to manufacturing in a letter to James Mease, in which he noted, "I am fully convinced that the country is more ripe for manufactures than people generally think and that the time is come to try our thought in that way," while discussing in the next paragraph ways to prepare hemp; du Pont to Mease, Jan. 21, 1808, Longwood Manuscripts.

63. Reprinted in Gilbert Chinard, *The Correspondence of Jefferson and Du Pont de Nemours* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1931) 240–250, 254–256. Neither has been translated into English so far as I know. Daryl M. Hafter, "Du Pont's America as a Physiocratic Ideal" (unpublished Hagley Museum and Library Research Report, n.d.) discusses aspects of these works in English.

64. "L'agriculture est une manufacture comme une autre, quoique d'une importance plus grande puisqu'elle fournit aux autres les subsistances et les matières premières"; Chinard, 240.

65. Ibid., 240–41; Hafter, 4–5.

66. "Ce qu'il ne faut pas oublier ici, et qu'on doit considérer comme un principe fondamental, est que dans les États-Unis la plus grande importance des Encouragemens qu'on réclame en faveur des manufactures, est dans l'extension qu'elles donneront à l'Agriculture"; Chinard, 249.

67. "La Population industrieuse des Etats-Unis ne pourra pas excéder les moyens de subsistance ni être exposée comme L'Angleterre aux revers de la famine"; ibid., 244.

68. Carter, 284–322; Mathew Carey, *Nine Letters to Dr. Adam Seybert* (Philadelphia: Carey, 1811) 65 and *The Olive Branch, Or Faults on Both Sides, Federal and Democratic* (Philadelphia: Carey, 1814).

69. Mathew Carey, "Prefatory Address to the Artists, Mechanics, and Manufacturers of the United States," *Pamphlets and Papers* 4: 511–517; quote from pp. 514–515. Carey also frequently quoted from both Hamilton and Jefferson at the start of his essays to show that the progenitors of both parties had spoken in favor of manufactures. Two good examples are the opening pages of *The New Olive Branch* and *Essays in Political Economy.*

TEN: Harmony and Discord in the "Era of Good Feelings"

1. The list of delegates and the proceedings may be found in *Proceedings of the General Convention at Harrisburg*, which was reprinted in *Niles' Weekly Register* Aug. 11, 1827.

2. William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816–1836* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1966)

3. *Niles' Weekly Register* August 11, 1827, p. 1.

4. On these tariffs see F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (1932; reprint, New York: A. M. Kelley, 1967) 68–108; Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies in the 19th Century* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1903) 160–289; R. W. Thompson, *The History of Protective Tariff Laws* (1888; reprint, New York: Garland, 1974) 110–209; Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929) 1: 274–279; Jill Lorene Van Stone, "Tariffs, Technology Choices, Natural Resources, and Growth in the Antebellum United States," (Ph.D. diss., University of Colorado, 1996); Grant Douglas Forsyth, "An Analysis of Tariff Formation in Antebellum America" (Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 1996).

5. Michael Brewster Folsum and Steven D. Lubar, eds., *The Philosophy of Manufactures: Early Debates over Industrialization in the United States* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982) 197.

6. Robert V. Remini, *Daniel Webster: The Man and His Time* (New York: Norton, 1997) 138–139, 220–223, 295–299.

7. Robert F. Dalzell Jr., *Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987) 36–44.

8. *DAB* 6: 44–46; Dalzell, 57–59; Remini, 298.

9. Charles M. Wiltse, ed., *The Papers of Daniel Webster: Correspondence* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1976) 2: 342–343; Remini, 298.

10. Wiltse, 2: 293–294, 336–338, 341–342. On Jackson and Thorndike see Dalzell, 29–30. On Buckingham see chapter 7 in this volume.

11. Wiltse, 2: 330. On the Spragues see Clark, 1: 458.

12. Daniel had personally urged Ezekiel to attend. Wiltse, 2: 218.

13. The most notable Jacksonist delegate was Gideon Welles, future secretary of the navy. Remini argues that Webster hoped the convention would help the Adamists. Additionally, there is some evidence that Clay himself planted the seed for the convention. Malcolm R. Eiselin, *The Rise of Pennsylvania Protectionism* (1932; reprint, Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1974) 74.

14. *Niles' Weekly Register* Nov. 18, 1815, pp. 188–191; Jan. 25, 1817, pp. 366–368; Feb. 1, 1817, pp. 369–373. Niles refers to further meetings in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh; ibid., Feb. 22, 1817, p. 428. *American State Papers: Finance* (Buffalo: W. S. Hein, 1998) 3: 106.

15. Stanwood, 161; "Declaration of the National Institution for the Promotion of Industry" (June 9, 1820) in Longwood Manuscripts, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Del.; *American State Papers: Finance*, 3: 447–579.

16. *American State Papers: Finance*, 4: 372, 392.

17. Ibid., 5: 599–763. These meetings were reported in *Niles' Weekly Register* as follows: Philadelphia, June 2, 1827, pp. 236–240; Lancaster County, Pa., Duchess County, N.Y., and Wilmington, Del., July 7, 1827, pp. 312–314; Rutland, Vt., Newport R.I., various New York counties, and Delaware, July 14, 1827, pp. 330–332; Charles and Colleton District, S.C. (both came out in opposition to the tariff), New York state convention, and Trenton, N.J., July 21, 1827, pp. 348–350; Albany, Middleton, Conn., and Wilmington, Del., July 28, 1827, pp. 362–365.

18. The network is best exemplified by du Pont's correspondents: G. W. Custis to E. I. du Pont, n.d.; G. Pearce to du Pont, March 1, 1808; Henry R. Briscoe of Manchester, Va., to du Pont Sept. 1, 1809; W. Anderson of Chester, Pa., to du Pont Dec. 4, 1808; W. Thornton of Washington, D.C., to du Pont, Oct. 18, 1809; John Mason of Georgetown, D.C., to du Pont, Oct. 27,1809; Callender Irvine of Philadelphia to du Pont, Sept. 29, 1810; Richard Peters of Belmont to du Pont, Nov. 5, 1810; James Caldwell of Philadelphia, Jan. 17, 1811; William Young of Rockland, July 17, 1811; du Pont to Jon. Robert, 1814; Robert Livingston to du Pont, Feb. 23, 1810. All in Longwood Manuscripts. See also the extensive correspondence with John Threlkeld beginning in 1810 in E. B. Du Pont Collection, file 134. Threlkeld indicated to du Pont that he was also corresponding with Col. Humphreys concerning Merino sheep. Peters was the president and most active member of the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Agriculture and a strong supporter of internal improvements (*DAB* 14: 509–511); Thornton, the architect of the Capitol, was closely associated with John Fitch in his pioneering steamboat experiments and the first Superintendent of Patents (*DAB* 18: 504–506); Roberts served on the Pennsylvania Canal Commission (*DAB* 16: 9–10); Mease was a member of the Philadelphia

Vine Company, the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, and the American Philosophical Society (*DAB* 12: 486); Livingston served on the New York Canal Commission and was president of the Society for the Promotion of Useful Arts for twenty-two years (*DAB* 11: 320–325). McKim, besides giving a pro-manufacturing pro-embargo speech in the House of Representatives also was a member of Baltimore's pro-manufacturing Athenian Society (*Niles' Weekly Register*, Feb. 22, 1812, 461–463; April 23, 1814, 122–127). On Livingston's efforts see J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860* (Philadelphia: Edward Young, 1864) 2: 94; *Archives of Useful Knowledge*, 1 (1810) 17; *DAB* 11: 320–325.

19. Young and Roberts both were members of the Merino Society of the Middle States of North America. See "The Constitution of the Merino Society of the Middle States of North America" (Philadelphia, 1811).

20. See E. I. du Pont to Caesar Rodney, Jan. 5, 1823; du Pont to Henry Clay, Feb. 13, 1824; Clay to du Pont, Feb. 15, 1824; du Pont to John Torbert, June 21, 1827; du Pont to H. Niles, July 25, 1827; Niles to du Pont, June 26, 1827; Mathew Carey to du Pont, March 2, 1829; Carey to du Pont March 21, 1829; H. Niles to du Pont Nov. 1, 1831, all in Longwood Manuscripts, and M. Carey to du Pont Jan. 16, 1823 in Winterthur Manuscripts, Hagley Museum and Library.

21. Mathew Carey, *Autobiographical Sketches in a Series of Letters Addressed to a Friend* (Philadelphia: John Clarke, 1829) 1: v.

22. The outgoing letters appear to have been lost. Although Carey's incoming letters are not indexed, the detailed manuscript card catalogue at the HSP serves as a de facto index. It reveals that Carey corresponded with Victor du Pont, Alexander McKim, Hezekiah Niles, and many others at this time.

23. Carey, *Autobiographical Sketches*, 1: 118–119. On Brown see Wiltse, 2: 302.

24. *American State Papers: Finance*, 5: 680.

25. E. I. du Pont to John Torbert, June 21, 1827; du Pont to Hezekiah Niles, June 25, 1827; Niles to du Pont, June 26, 1827. All in Longwood Manuscripts.

26. *American State Papers: Finance*, 5: 714.

27. Ibid., 614. See, too, the petition of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina, ibid., 713.

28. Ibid., 656, 672.

29. These four were Daniel Webster; Israel Thorndike, who signed an 1828 protectionist tariff; and Boston Associates Nathan Appleton and Abbott Lawrence. For the 1824 petition see *American State Papers: Finance*, 4: 467–477.

30. "Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of Charleston, S.C.," ibid., 5: 707–710; "Resolutions in Relation to the Tariff Policy and Colonization Society, unanimously adopted by the Agricultural Society of St. John's, Colleton, South Carolina," ibid., 656.

31. Mathew Carey, "Petition of the Pennsylvania Society for the promotion of Manufactures and the Mechanic Arts" (1827) in *Papers and Pamphlets* (Philadelphia: Skerett, 1827) 7: 279, and reprinted in *Niles' Weekly Register*, June 2, 1827, pp. 237–240.

32. *Niles' Weekly Register*, July 7, 1827, p. 314; July 14, 1827, p. 331.

33. Mallory had served as chairman of the House Committee of Manufactures. See Forsyth, 93–95. Other politician-delegates without direct ties to manufacturing included Icabod Bartlett (N.H.), Thomas Ewing (Ohio); Walter Forward (Pa.); Francis Granger (N.Y.); Eleazer Lord (N.Y.); Jeremiah Morrow (Ohio); Joseph Ritner (Pa.); Jonathan Roberts (Pa.); George Robertson (Ky.); Enos Throop (N.Y.); Gideon Welles (Conn.).

34. On Gray, McLean and Wilkinson, see William R. Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (1893; reprint, New York: A. M. Kelley)318, 496, and *DAB* 10: 222. Other prominent manufacturer delegates included Elijah Paine (Vt.), James Rhodes (R.I.), and J. E. Sprague (Mass.).

35. Carey, *Autobiographical Sketches,* 123, 150–152.

36. Discussed in chapter 5.

37. Ronald Schultz, *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) 228; Walter Licht, *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995) 51–52.

38. Bruce Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800–1850* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980) 85–104

39. Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984) 172–254; Ronald P. Formisano, *The Transformation of Political Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983) 222–244; Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979) 86–107; Caroline F. Ware, *The Early New England Cotton Manufacture* (1931; reprint, New York: Russell and Russell, 1966) 272–279.

40. Licht, 54.

41. Wilentz, 183–201; Schultz, 220–233; Formisano, 231–232; Philip S. Foner, *William Heighton: Pioneer Labor Leader of Jacksonian Philadelphia* (New York: International Publishers, 1991).

42. Thomas Skidmore, *The Rights of Man to Property!* (New York: Alexander Ming, 1829) 273.

43. Formisano, 237.

44. *Proceedings of the General Convention at Harrisburg,* 13.

45. Ibid., 14.

46. On the American system see Robert V. Remini, *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union* (New York: Norton, 1991) 210–233; Maurice G. Baxter, *Henry Clay and the American System* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995). Clay first articulated the plan during the 1824 tariff debate.

47. "Declaration of the National Institution for the Promotion of Industry," 1.

48. *Proceedings of the General Convention at Harrisburg,* 12–13.

Epilogue

1. Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790–1860* (New York: Norton, 1966) 284; J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures, 1608–1860* (Philadelphia: Edward Young, 1864) 2: 810.

2. Malcolm Eiselin, *The Rise of Pennsylvania Protectionism* (1932; reprint, Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1974) 127–128.

3. Paul A. David, "Learning by Doing and Tariff Protection: A Reconsideration of the Case of the Antebellum United States Cotton Textile Industry," *Journal of Economic History* 30 (1970) 521–601.

4. On Henry Carey see Paul K. Conkin, *Prophets of Prosperity: America's First Political Economists* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980) 261–301; Rodney J. Morrison, *Henry C. Carey and American Economic Development* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1986); Arnold W. Green, *Henry Charles Carey: Nineteenth-Century Sociologist* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951); A. D. H. Kaplan, *Henry Charles*

Carey: A Study in American Economic Thought (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1931).

5. Henry C. Carey, *The Harmony of Interests* (New York: M. Finch, 1852).

6. Morrison, 33.

7. Ibid., 37.

8. Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century* (1903; reprint, New York: Russell and Russell, 1967) 117.

9. Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) 173; Green, 25–26; Stanwood, 116–117. Carey and Greeley began to part ways by 1857.

10. Richard Franklin Bensel, *The Political Economy of American Industrialization, 1877–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

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Essay on Sources

PRIMARY SOURCES

The most important source for studying early American political-economic rhetoric is newspapers. They offer an abundant, nearly infinite amount of material, including minutes of many pro-manufacturing meetings and excerpts from relevant correspondences for which the original documents have long been lost. I limited the number of newspapers by focusing on the new nation's largest cities—Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and, to a far lesser extent, Charleston. These places tended to be at the cutting edge of the American economy, and their citizens, therefore, were in a good position to speculate about economic change. As the nation's leading publishing centers they also tended to be the points from which new ideas were dispersed. My method was to read complete newspaper runs from each city (except Charleston) for the period 1763–1815 in order to get a sense of the ebb and flow of pro-manufacturing enthusiasm. For periods when there was great enthusiasm, I read at least one other newspaper for each city in order to gauge the extent of that enthusiasm more sensitively and to gain greater insight into the particular nature of the rhetoric. After the formation of political parties, I also attempted to balance Federalist and Democratic-Republican newspapers in order to control for party fervor. All of this would have been far more difficult had I not been blessed with easy access to the superb early American newspaper collection of the Library of Congress.

As I worked through the newspapers, I discovered particular groups, individuals, and episodes that, due to their prominence in the record, seemed to be particularly important to my story. In order to learn more about these groups and episodes I followed two tracks. First, I dug more deeply into the newspaper literature, searching numerous periodicals for further references. Second, I searched for relevant manuscript sources. For the 1760s and 1770s the best sources were two extensive published collections: the *Goldsmiths'-Kress Library of Economic Literature* microfilm collection and Paul H. Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976–). For mechanic committees the most valuable records were those of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York, located at that society's headquarters in Manhattan. For manufacturing societies the most extensive records were those of the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts, which are divided between the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Hagley Museum and Library in Wilmington, Delaware. For agricultural societies the most important manuscript sources are those of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting Agriculture, located in the special

collections department of the Van Pelt Library at the University of Pennsylvania. Many of these records as well as those of similar societies in New York and Boston were also published in book and pamphlet form at the time.

I also found primary sources useful in learning more about certain key individuals who influenced the pro-manufacturing discourse. For Benjamin Franklin, I did not need to go beyond the superbly edited *Papers of Benjamin Franklin.* For Mathew Carey my main source was the enormous number of pamphlets he produced as well as two autobiographical efforts. All of these are available at the Library Company of Philadelphia. I also found useful the large trove of Carey letters and other materials in the Lea and Febiger Collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For Tench Coxe the microfilmed Tench Coxe Papers are indispensible, but for my purposes perhaps even more important was the very large collection of Coxe pamphlets, again available at the Library Company of Philadelphia.

In the period after 1815 I relied less on newspapers than on petitions, private letters, and pamphlet literature. The reasons for this were largely practical: The number of newspapers and the focus on manufacturing expanded so rapidly during this period that it would have been impractical to work through all of it. The best source for petitions in these years is the voluminous *American State Papers* series. The papers of E. I. du Pont, located at the Hagley Museum and Library, include extensive discussions of the fight for protection during these years, as well as a good deal of printed material relating to various protectionist conventions and ad hoc committees.

SECONDARY SOURCES

The heyday of the study of American manufacturing was the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, when the effects of industrialization were still fairly novel. Several classic works from that period are still useful, most notably Victor S. Clark's three-volume work, *History of Manufactures of the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929), and J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures 1608 to 1860* (Philadelphia: Edward Young, 1860). Though more specialized, William R. Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1893), contains a treasure trove of primary source material. More recently, Thomas Cochran's work, most notably *Frontiers of Change: Early Industrialization in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), and Cochran and William Miller, *The Age of Enterprise: A Social History of Industrial America*, revised edition (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1961), offer a more cultural and analytical approach. Walter Licht, *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), the best recent survey on the industrial revolution, moves away from the more strictly economic focus of its predecessors to incorporate much of the social history of the previous three decades.

For a general understanding of the more distinguished contributors to early American political economy, Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization, 1606–1933* (New York: Viking, 1946), remains an excellent starting point. John E. Crowley, *This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America*

(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), provides insightful analysis into popular conceptions of political economy. In the 1980s and 1990s the issue of political economy became connected to the larger debate over whether the new republic could be characterized as primarily "republican" or "liberal." Among the more important contributions to this debate are Drew R. McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); John R. Nelson, *Liberty and Property: Political Economy and Policymaking in the New Nation, 1789–1812* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); and Joyce Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York: New York University Press, 1984). Cathy D. Matson and Peter Onuf offered a new fine-grained synthesis in *A Union of Interests: Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990). John E. Crowley, *The Privileges of Independence: Neomercantilism and the American Revolution* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), details the persistence of mercantilism in elite political economy.

The connections between manufacturing and the American Revolution have been touched on by more general studies of the economy of the Revolutionary era. Robert A. East, *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), remains extremely useful. Edmund Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly* 24 (1967) 3–43, provides a somewhat dated but always stimulating analysis. Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), clarifies the legal background. Gary Nash, *The Urban Crucible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), a pathbreaking work of social history, also provides a wealth of information on economic issues. James A. Henretta, "The War for Independence and American Development" in Ronald Hoffman, Russell Menard, and Peter Albert, eds., *The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period, 1763–1790* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988), is perhaps the best recent survey. Margaret Newell, *From Dependency to Independence: Economic Revolution in Colonial New England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), is an excellent recent regional study.

The mechanics of the new republic have been examined more closely than just about any social group in history by an extremely talented cohort of scholars. This work has focused primarily on the process of class formation, but it has also provided a great deal of information on mechanic protectionism. The most recent review of this literature is Richard Stott, "Artisans and Capitalist Development," *Journal of the Early Republic* 16 (1996) 257–271. For this book, the most useful sources were those focusing on artisan politics in the major cities. For Philadelphia, Charles S. Olton, *Artisans for Independence: Philadelphia Mechanics and the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975), and Ronald Schultz, *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), are indispensable. Historians of New York are blessed with several monumental works, including Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Howard B. Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: New York Univer-

sity Press, 1979); Staughton Lynd, "The Mechanics and New York Politics," and Alfred F. Young, "The Mechanics and the Jeffersonians: New York, 1783–1801," both in *Labor History* 5 (1964) 225–276. For Baltimore, Charles G. Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1984) is the standard work, but it should be supplemented with Tina H. Sheller, "Artisans and the Evolution of Baltimore Town, 1765–1790" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1990). Although the activities of Boston's mechanics in the Revolution provide some of the best known episodes in American history, a comprehensive history of the mechanics themselves remains to be published. Alfred F. Young, *The Shoemaker and the Teaparty: Memory and the American Revolution* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), offers insight into the life of one revolutionary shoemaker, while David Hackett Fischer, *Paul Revere's Ride* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), does much the same for a more elite and more famous silversmith. Although it remains unpublished, Gary J. Kornblith, "From Artisans to Businessmen: Master Mechanics in New England, 1789–1850" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1983), is the most comprehensive account.

Sources relevant to the manufacturing and agricultural societies of the new republic are far more infrequent. Merrill Jensen's classic, *The New Nation* (New York: Knopf, 1950), offers a remarkable amount of useful information and analysis. Less analytical, but painstakingly researched and very informative, are Joseph Stancliffe Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917), and Frank Warren Crow, "The Age of Promise: Societies for Social and Economic Improvement in the United States, 1789–1840" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1952). Jacob E. Cooke's "Tench Coxe, Alexander Hamilton, and the Encouragement of American Manufactures," *William and Mary Quarterly* 32 (1975) 369–392, and *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978) contain extensive discussions of the Pennsylvania Society for Encouraging Useful Manufactures and the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures.

In addition to the more general works on manufacturing, a number of studies are particularly useful for understanding early nineteenth-century developments. Philip Scranton's seminal *Proprietary Capitalism: The Textile Manufacture at Philadelphia, 1800–1885* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983) is the key work on Philadelphia-style industrial capitalism. Also useful are Cynthia Shelton, *The Mills of Manayunk* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1980); and David Richard Kasserman, "Conservative Innovation: Introduction of the Cotton Industry into the United States, 1789–1840" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1974). On New England–style industrialism see Robert F. Dalzell Jr., *Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World they Made* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987); Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); and Caroline F. Ware, *The Early New England Cotton Manufacture: A Study in Industrial Beginnings* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931). For a review of literature on the legal background, state mercantilism, and the commonwealth tradition see Harry N. Scheiber, "Government and the

Economy: Studies of the 'Commonwealth' Policy in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3 (1972) 135–151. Among the most relevant monographs are Oscar Handlin and Mary Flug Handlin, *Commonwealth*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969); Louis Hartz, *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought: Pennsylvania, 1776–1860* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948); Beatrice G. Reubens, "State Financing of Private Enterprise in Early New York" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1960); Ronald E. Seavoy, *The Origins of the American Business Corporation, 1784–1855: Broadening the Concept of Public Service During Industrialization* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982); and William J. Novak, *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996). On early-nineteenth-century agricultural societies and household manufacturing see Paul W. Gates, *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815–1860* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960); Rolla M. Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917); and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Wheels, Looms, and the Gender Division of Labor in Eighteenth-Century New England," *William and Mary Quarterly* 55 (January 1998) 3–38.

Many of the more general works on urban mechanics and political economy provide insight into the political economy of the first party system. In addition, see Richard Buell Jr., *Securing the Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972); Alfred F. Young, *The Democratic-Republicans of New York* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967); Sanford W. Higginbotham, *The Keystone in the Democratic Arch: Pennsylvania Politics 1800–1816* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952); Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1919); David Hackett Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York: Harper, 1965); Roland Bauman, "Philadelphia Manufacturers and the Excise Taxes of 1794: The Forging of the Jeffersonian Coalition," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (1982) 3–39; and Andrew Shankman, "Democracy in Pennsylvania: Political, Social and Economic Arguments in the Jeffersonian Party, 1790–1820" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1997). On protectionism in this era see F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (1932; reprint, New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967); Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies in the 19th Century* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1903); R. W. Thompson, *The History of Protective Tariff Laws* (1888; reprint, New York: Garland, 1974); and Malcolm R. Eiselin, *The Rise of Pennsylvania Protectionism* (1932; reprint, Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1974).

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